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THE REPUBLIC;
OR,
A HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
IN
THE ADMINISTRATIONS,

FROM THE MONARCHIC COLONIAL DAYS
TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

BY
JOHN ROBERT IRELAN, M. D.

IN EIGHTEEN VOLUMES.

Volume XVI.

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HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE, ADMINISTRATION,
AND TIMES
OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
Sixteenth President of the United States.

War of the Rebellion,
AND
Downfall of Human Slavery.

BY
JOHN ROBERT IRELAN, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOLUME I.

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LIFE, ADMINISTRATION, AND TIMES

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

March 4, 1861, to April 15, 1865.

CHAPTER I.

“THE SHORT AND SIMPLE ANNALS OF THE POOR.”

THIS, indeed, is the uninteresting story of a very large part of the human family. And this in his own language was the early history of Abraham Lincoln. Few men ever rose to noble distinction whose early life and the circumstances surrounding it were less auspicious. This strangely interesting character had absolutely no grounds for pride of origin, or satisfaction with the condition of his hard and desolate childhood, or his awkward and unattractive youth.

Although the period has, perhaps, at last arrived in which at least a very great per cent of the people of this country, the friends and enemies of Abraham Lincoln, should be expected to view with candor, calmness, and fairness all the acts of his life and of the great national tragedy in which he was the central figure,

it is undoubtedly true that a strong conviction (from which I do not dissent) yet remains in his own and other countries that he was providentially raised up for a great mission. Laboring under this impression, the reader of this book may stumble at a few points where it may be held that common sympathy, common fame, and motives of patriotism should have led the author to make the way smooth. To this feeling the impartial historian should be a stranger. Where he may omit what would mar is a question of great doubt, but that he may conceal and misrepresent is hardly a subject of consideration.

That Mr. Lincoln was a Providential President of the United States, in the common acceptation of the term, is a matter which must be decided by the reader in his own way. If this work in its regular course gives him any aid on a point its author does not attempt to decide or controvert, it will be additional to his purpose. Mr. Lincoln was not a great man, or rather he was great in few things; but he was, perhaps, of all men best suited to stand at the head of national affairs in the great emergency in 1861, unlike every other in the history of this country. How he was thus adapted it is not my purpose to attempt to portray at the very threshold of this work, nor perhaps, indeed, in any subsequent systematic effort. A faithful history of his entire career, from its unfavorable beginning to its sad end is, possibly, all that should be promised or expected.

Were I to set out with the announcement or belief that Mr. Lincoln was President by the preference

and provision of Providence, that should by no means imply that I hold him to have been the highest, wisest, and best man in the Nation. It would only imply that I hold him to have been the fittest under the circumstances. This, and this only, I take it, is the rule of providential selection. That this or that historic character was "after God's own heart," could never mean anything else than he was the best for the times, the emergency, the work in hand, was the fittest under all circumstances. That his missteps, evil passions, and wilfully wrong deeds could be agreeable to or after God's heart it would be simply shallow folly to intimate. If all genuine, true, good, or Heavenly traits could by chance be found in the fittest and best under the circumstances, then this would be God's selection, and in an eminent sense after his own heart; and the nearest he could approach this standard in selecting men for his purposes on earth has been his practice since the beginning of the race. But the fittest and the best must always refer to the people, the times, the circumstances, the work to be done, not of necessity so much to the virtues of the instrument under a Heavenly standard.

The following is Mr. Lincoln's own account of himself, first published early in 1860, and afterwards in *fac-simile* by Lamon in his "Life of Lincoln," as well as in other later works:—

"I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia of undistinguished families, *second families*, perhaps I should

say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon Counties, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or 2, where a year or two later he was killed by Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name, ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

"My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond 'readin', writin', and cipherin' to the Rule of Three!' If a straggler, supposed to understand Latin, happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the Rule of Three, but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education, I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

"I was raised to farm-work, which I continued till I was twenty-two. At twenty-one I came to Illinois, and passed the first year in Mercer County. Then I got to New Salem, at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard County, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store.

Then came the Black Hawk War, and I was elected a captain of volunteers, a service which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went through the campaign, was elected; ran for the Legislature the same year (1832), and was beaten, the only time I have ever been beaten by the people. The next and three succeeding biennial elections I was elected to the Legislature. I was not a candidate afterwards. During this legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was once elected to the Lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before.

“Always a Whig in politics, and generally on the Whig electoral ticket, making certain canvasses, I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known. If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said: I am in height six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing, on an average, one hundred and sixty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse, black hair and gray eyes; no other marks or brands recollected. Yours very truly,

“A. LINCOLN.

“J. W. FELL, Esq.”

From this modest and strange sketch much of the real character and little of the life of Mr. Lincoln can be gathered, but it subserves a good purpose here. Mr. Lincoln never cared to talk but little about the particulars of his family and early life. While there was nothing dishonorable, perhaps, in his family, there was absolutely nothing of interest in its history, as he believed, to anybody, or of benefit to himself. And his own career up to manhood had been one of

knocks and cuffs, hardships, and want; as from that time to the end of it was a singular mixture of roughness, sadness, physical and political conquests, success, and great and good deeds. And this statement may render a few additional words to the reader, necessary in this prefatory chapter, touching the view here presented of this extraordinary man, whose life I have found actually divided into two parts: one in which there were many strange, more or less selfish, and really uncommendable features, and one, mainly without moral defect, extending from 1850 to the end of his earthly career. In all stages of these periods I have attempted to study Mr. Lincoln as he was, as he thought, felt, worked, and really lived, without reference to my disposition, or perchance the reader's, to view him as the savior of his country, or the honored martyr of a great cause.

When I have said that Mr. Lincoln was best adapted, perhaps, among all his countrymen to stand at the head of national affairs, *I have placed him on a pinnacle as high as the most unconditional admirer could rear for him.* And hence I have really left little fair utilizable ground for disappointments or cavil even on minor or special points, and certainly less with the picture as a whole, although the facts have not always enabled me to place that value upon Mr. Lincoln's family, some of his social affairs, and his strange earlier dominant personal trait, which would be most pleasing to those friends, who, like myself, could desire to see no fault in this interesting modern political model.

CHAPTER II.

THE LINCOLNS—AN UNATTRACTIVE PICTURE.

THE early history of this Lincoln family is involved in some obscurity. President Lincoln, perhaps, as well as some others, inclined to the notion that his ancestors had the same origin or were a part of the old family of the same name in New England. Mr. Lincoln also favored the view, to some extent adopted here, that his immediate ancestors were Quakers, but in this opinion his father did not share. There may justly, however, be some doubt as to the propriety of taking Thomas Lincoln's opinion to be of any value on this, or perhaps, any other point. The speculations as to the common origin of the New England (the good old Puritan) and the Pennsylvania and Virginia families of Lincolns simply on account of the similarity of certain Christian names in each, such as Mordecai and Josiah, are of little or no importance. Hundreds of families in this country of no possible blood-relationship, and wholly dissimilar in culture and other conditions of life even yet follow the old plan of conferring Scripture names upon their children. But while there is absolutely nothing in the fact that the Lincolns of New England and the Lincolns of Pennsylvania and Virginia had similar

Christian names, it may be of some importance that members of the family in Virginia believed their original stock to have been identical with that of New England. There is, however, no way of settling this matter beyond a doubt, at this time, and so it must rest. One thing is certain, Abraham Lincoln's ancestors were English, as were the Lincolns of New England. Mr. Lamon says that Thomas Lincoln, the President's father, stoutly denied that he was descended from a Puritan stock. While there is absolutely nothing to disprove Thomas Lincoln's assertion or sentiment on this point, his worthless character may, perhaps, be taken as the only evidence of the correctness of his position. Whether placing different branches of the same kindred in remote and very different climates and social structures would produce wholly dissimilar family traits and history may not be regarded as improbable. But, however this may be, while the Lincolns of Massachusetts were always respectable, and often more than ordinary in public and private standing, President Lincoln was the only member of the more Southern family who has risen to distinction. This fact may have some bearing upon this question, and stand to a trifling degree, at least, in the way of uniting the two families. Nor are they brought near together in the strange, exceptional, unique, and wonderful character of President Lincoln. So it is not certain whence the Lincolns of Pennsylvania directly sprang. From Berks County in that State, between 1750 and 1752, some of the Lincolns moved to Rockingham County, Virginia, and

there some of them yet live. From this Virginia branch came the Kentucky Lincolns and the family of the President.

Abraham Lincoln, the ancestor of the Kentucky branch, owned a considerable tract of land in Rockingham County, but little is now known of its extent or value. Some time between 1780 and 1782 this Abraham Lincoln emigrated to Kentucky. The exact locality of his settlement is not known, but it is variously claimed as having been in Bullitt or Mercer County. In one of the old surveyor's field-books a record is said to exist which shows that on the 11th of December, 1782, Abraham Lincoln entered five hundred acres of land in Kentucky. This settlement was barely made when he fell a prey to the savage foe, leaving a young family unprovided for in the wilderness. Thus went down the head of the Lincoln family in the West in one of the many assassinations which crimsoned the path of the early pioneer. The story is told that Abraham Lincoln while at work in the field with his son, Thomas, was shot and killed by an Indian whose presence he did not suspect; and that Mordecai, his oldest son, who had hurried to the house on hearing the shot, saved the life of his brother, Thomas, by killing the Indian. About the Christian name of this ancestor, the grandfather of President Lincoln, there is some discrepancy of opinion. Mr. Lamon, who seems to pride himself on saying contrary things, as well as startling ones, about Mr. Lincoln and his family, appears much inclined to regard this grandfather's name as Mordecai, because

John and Dennis Hanks said that was his name. Mr. Lamon also very ungraciously accuses Dr. J. G. Holland of calling this grandparent Abraham on the ground that "he gives no authority for his statement, and it is as likely to be wrong as to be right." Few persons, perhaps, will be willing to believe that "Timothy Titcomb" ever wrote with such carelessness as this assertion indicates. The fact is, that Dr. Holland had the best of ground for saying *Abraham* instead of *Mordecai*. One of Mr. Lamon's greatest errors throughout his "Life of Abraham Lincoln" is that he depends very greatly upon unreliable sources, such as he constantly impeaches himself, for no small part of his information. Little stress can be put upon the vagaries of careless old Dennis Hanks, or indeed, any of the early associates and relatives of Mr. Lincoln. The vast mine from which Mr. Lamon drew was the collection made by William H. Herndon, consisting, to a great extent, of the reminiscences and speculations of unreliable people whose vanity and tongues were set to running from the mere application made to them for information of real value which a more thoughtful and accurate race might have been expected to possess. Even Mr. Herndon himself, while understanding President Lincoln's legal and political status, seemed to fall far below his private and religious character, and knew him as untruly as most of his business and political associates. But this matter will again appear in its proper place.

From the little which has been said of Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of the President, it may

reasonably be supposed that he was a man of some sterling traits, deserving to be placed with the determined, strongly endowed, better class of the pioneers. And to him are to be traced many of the good and admirable qualities of his distinguished grandson. He left three sons, Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas, and two daughters, Mary and Nancy. With these children Mrs. Lincoln, soon after the death of her husband, removed to Washington County, where she died and passed out of memory, but not until she had reared her little family in the way of the poor of that early day. One of her daughters married Ralph Krume, and the other William Brumfield, whose descendants still live in Kentucky.

Mordecai and Josiah, late in life, emigrated farther westward, and although they were men of no public note, they bore excellent reputations, and were counted among the most worthy citizens. Thomas, who was with his father when he was shot by the Indian, and who is, necessarily, to be in this history the most important of the five children of Abraham Lincoln, the emigrant, now remains to be mentioned.

Thomas was born about 1778, or, at all events, two or three years before his parents moved to Kentucky, and was a worthless fellow. Had he not been the father of "Honest Abe Lincoln" his name would be wholly unworthy of notice in history. Nothing else is known of him deserving respect or repetition. Some of President Lincoln's biographers, in speaking of his father, Thomas Lincoln, attempt to apologize for Thomas's short-comings by setting forth the idea

of the supposed incessant toil and hardship to which frontiersmen and their children were subjected. This is a mistake. In the whole history of pioneer life there is found everywhere a very decided tinge of "gush" on this point. The pioneers have been useful men, as a class, in clearing the way for a better race, but their life was of their own choice. The main element actuating them has always been, as is well known, the desire for freedom from social and other restraints and obligations. Toil and hardship they never had. The chief sentiment pushing them toward the wilderness was a desire for relief from these things. The great mass of them worked only to sustain life, and they worked as little as life required. What they did mainly was not toil to them, nor did they regard it as hardship. They have been a hardy, improvident, independent race, and the most and best that can be said of them is that they beat back the wild and savage obstructions to the advance of energetic and enlightened society. Their so-called toil and hardship are not matters of sympathy, however their real sufferings may be regarded. The genuine pioneers, the men of the hunting-shirt and scalping-knife, have always been, as a race, lazy, shiftless, ignorant, and worthless people. Tom Lincoln, as far as might be, belonged to this class. Neither in boyhood nor in after-life did he toil or suffer from hardship. The plants that grew around him appeared to have little less concern about life now or hereafter than did he. There is no use to attempt to throw any kind of halo or charm around

the life of Thomas Lincoln. There is no ground for it. His whole life will bear as little of good as can be uttered about it. At a later day in the history of Kentucky or any part of the South, he and his wife, the mother of the martyred President, would have ranked with the "poor white trash," of whom nothing was expected, and anything trifling or worthless was possible.

When Thomas became a man he could not write his own name. He had hunted, labored now and then by the day, and in ignorance and laziness passed his early life away. Not until after his marriage did he learn to write clumsily, and, perhaps, to read a little. He did not know either how to spell or pronounce his own name, which remained in the uncertain forms of "Linckhern" and "Linckhorn" until it was duly revised by his son, Abraham. He wandered up and down through several counties adjoining that in which his mother lived, and the greatest deed recorded of him at this time was the whipping of the bully of Breckinridge County; a feat he performed in three minutes. This act raised him in the estimation of his acquaintances, and emboldened him to try his hand at a later date in the same noble business. Lincoln was a man of extraordinary strength of body. He weighed nearly two hundred pounds, and was five feet and ten inches high, with a closely knit and plump body.

In 1805, or the following year, by some chance, he was induced to learn the carpenter's trade, under Joseph Hanks at Elizabethtown in Hardin County.

If there was any reason for his taking this step beyond the vague and restless disposition to do something else or to do nothing well, it is not apparent, as he never developed much skill or taste for this excellent trade. In fact, he never became a carpenter. He was nothing but a tinker, and a lazy, unreliable one at that. Still it was a trait of his character to stand alone, and Thomas Lincoln was not long in reaching the degree of "boss carpenter," although it does not appear that he ever built a house, or that he exercised his good muscle and mechanical ingenuity otherwise than in patching those already built, and in making rough furniture. But even this pursuit was not to his taste, and soon after his marriage he resumed the vocation to which he had been bred, that of farming. This also he never overdid, or, rather, he always did as little of it as he considered absolutely necessary. If he had been a poor carpenter, he was now a poorer farmer. He was unsuccessful and poor at anything he undertook, excepting fighting and "spinning yarns." He was a good-natured, easy fellow, could tell a story well in his way, and always had a large stock on hand, ready for every occasion. He, too, was always "put in mind of a story." He was not a vicious or bad man, and his good nature seldom gave way to passion. But when it did, few men could contend with him physically. In one of his desperate conflicts with a man by the name of Enlow, he bit or chewed and tore off Enlow's nose, an affair which had something to do with his emigrating from Kentucky.

In 1806 Thomas Lincoln was married to Nancy Hanks at Elizabethtown. Nancy had emigrated from Virginia with some of her relatives, both of her parents, perhaps, remaining in Virginia. Her mother, Lucy Hanks, had several sisters, one of whom became the wife of Thomas Sparrow, and with the Sparrows, Nancy passed most of her life previously to her marriage with Thomas Lincoln. One of her aunts, her mother's sister, also married a Hanks, and so strengthened her relationship to the Hanks family. At the house of Joseph Hanks she often, no doubt, met the carpenter, Thomas Lincoln, and at the time of her marriage with him she was twenty-three years old. She could read and write, which were more than her husband and most of the Hankses could do. The relatives thought her possessed of wonderful qualities and attainments; and the elevation to which they reared her at the time, and even after her death, is, perhaps, sufficient evidence of her good character both before and after marriage. It may not be too much to say that her marriage with Lincoln also denoted her good standing, for as lazy and worthless as Tom was, he was very popular with both men and women, and at that early day the moral and social distances were not so marked as at this time, in Kentucky. Nor has laziness ever been regarded as a crime in the South, or the degree in which it was possessed, been very widely different among the people. Many of Thomas Lincoln's qualities were common ones and in them he was no better or worse than many of his neighbors. Nancy Hanks, although

a well-formed and rather pretty brunette, of medium height, was not Thomas Lincoln's first choice. He wanted Sally Bush, a very sensible and good girl of Elizabethtown; but Sally not being satisfied with Tom's prospects, declined his proffer, though the propriety of her course does not appear altogether evident. Nancy Hanks was not so calculating in the matter, and, perhaps, her advancing age aided her in reaching a conclusion at which Miss Bush was unable to arrive. Still I confess that this presents the marriage of Thomas Lincoln in its lowest business aspects, and ignores those lofty and true motives which should ever be found of supreme vital importance in the highest relationship of life.

There remains no entirely satisfactory record of the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, but the statements given here from the "The Tribune" may be sufficiently decisive. Such oversights have often occurred, but rarely where they would give rise to doubtful comments. Although well-disposed old citizens of Hardin County speak with one sentiment on this important point, yet the absence of the indubitable record has always been a fruitful source of gossip to loose and unreliable writers and talkers.

Dr. Holland, in a moment of enthusiasm, allows himself to be led into the following statement:—

"Mrs. Lincoln, the mother, was evidently a woman out of place among those primitive surroundings, . . . with much in her nature that was truly heroic, and much that shrank from the rude life around her. A great man never drew his infant life from a purer or more womanly

bosom than her own ; and Mr. Lincoln always looked back to her with unspeakable affection. Long after her sensitive heart and weary hands had crumbled into dust, and had climbed to life again in forest flowers, he said to a friend, with tears in his eyes: 'All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother, blessings on her memory!'"

That she was in some way dissatisfied with her lot may be true, and possibly there is some evidence in support of this view ; but that she ever did much to better her own or her children's condition does not appear very plain, or that she was in any way superior to her surroundings is not at all evident at this day. It is commonly supposed that President Lincoln's references to his mother, in the main, applied to his step-mother, as will be seen hereafter. It would have been a grave and ungenerous error in him to place all that he was or could be to the credit of one or both of these women, while it is true that he owed no very great amount, beyond natural obligations, to his father. Everybody liked Abe Lincoln, and everybody helped him up and on in the way of life. That his mother was a sad and melancholy woman there is no doubt, and to this fact can readily be traced his own sad and gloomy states.

The Hankses, like the Lincolns, were of English origin, and even in Virginia, their first home in this country, they seem to have been known to or some way identified with the Lincolns.

For a while after the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks they lived in a miserable house, or shed of one room, in an alley at Elizabethtown.

This poor make-shift of a house has never since been used as a dwelling for man, but has been moved several times and appropriated to other purposes. In February, 1807, in this place, Nancy, their first child, was born. For some inexplicable reason this child was called Sarah after the death of her mother. Soon after her birth her father abandoned the carpenter business, and the family settled in a little cabin, in a poor and desolate spot, on the south fork of Nolin Creek, two or three miles from Hodgenville, the county-seat of La Rue County, and seven or eight miles from Elizabethtown. Whether Thomas Lincoln owned this land or held any interest in it is now not very clearly known. But it was a matter of little importance, as the land was a part of the poorest in a region noted for its poverty. The land was then worth but fifty cents or a dollar an acre, and is not yet worth much more. Still about Elizabethtown and Hodgenville, and all through this part of the State, there is much rich and beautiful country, not comparing unfavorably with the famous "blue-grass" section.

"While in Kentucky last fall Ex-Secretary Bristow met a lawyer of high reputation, R. J. Browne. Mr. Browne lives in Springfield, Washington County, is a man of wealth, a Republican, and one who takes great pride in guarding the memory of the dead President. He heard of the reports referred to above, and caused a diligent search to be made of the record of the marriage of Lincoln's parents. The search was successful, and Mr. Browne mentioned the fact to Mr. Bristow, who urged him to make the result public, in order to remove the doubt in the minds of many on the subject. Mr. Browne promised to send copies of the bond and certificate to General

Bristow, and recently he did so. Mr. Browne's letter, and the accompanying copies of documents were as follows:

““SPRINGFIELD, KY., December 16, 1878.

““DEAR SIR,—When I last saw you in Louisville I promised to send you a copy of the record of President Lincoln's father's marriage. I now send it to you. The record ought to forever silence the charge of the President's illegitimacy. I have talked with men of the highest veracity, who have told me that they attended the wedding.

““With a sincere wish, etc., I am truly yours,

“R. J. BROWNE.

““General B. H. BRISTOW, New York City.’

“The following is a copy of the bond:

““Know all men by these presents, That we, Thomas Lincoln and Richard Berry, are held and firmly bound unto His Excellency the Governor of Kentucky, in the just and full sum of £50 currency money, to the payment of which well and truly to be made to the said Governor and his successors we bind ourselves, our heirs, etc., jointly and severally, firmly by these presents, sealed with our seals, and dated this 10th day of June, 1806. The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas there is a marriage shortly intended between the above-bound Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, for which a license has issued, now if there be no lawful cause to obstruct the said marriage then this obligation to be void; else to remain in full force and virtue in law.

““THOMAS LINCOLN. [Seal.]

““RICHARD BERRY, Guardian. [Seal.]

““Witness—JOHN H. PARROTT.’

“The certificate is as follows:

““WASHINGTON COUNTY, ss.

““I do certify that on the 23d of September, 1806, I solemnized the rites of matrimony between Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, according to the rites of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

JESSE HEAD, D. M. E. C.’

“The above are sworn to be true copies as follows:

“STATE OF KENTUCKY, Washington County, ss.

“I, W. F. Booker, Clerk of the Washington County Court, do certify that the within is a true copy of the marriage bond, as well as marriage certificate of the minister, of the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, as shown from the records on file in my office.

“Given under my hand and seal of office, at Springfield, Kentucky, this 17th December, 1878.

“W. F. BOOKER, Clerk.”

(“New York Tribune,” 1879.)

“Our Springfield correspondent has placed in our hands the following letter, which has both a historic and local interest:—

“CARTHAGE, JASPER COUNTY, MO., }
February 2, 1881. }

“W. H. SWEENEY, Esq.:—

“DEAR SIR,—My brother, John G. Nall, of Pine Grove, Ky., has written me that you were interesting yourself in getting up historical sketches of the Lincoln family while they lived in Kentucky. In the outset I would say that I am the oldest grandson of Nancy Lincoln, who married William Brumfield; she was a sister of Thomas Lincoln, father of the President. I have always kept myself posted as to the traditions of the Lincoln family. They came from Lincolnshire, England, in an early day, perhaps as early as 1680, and settled in Pennsylvania, where they lived and took an active part in the enterprises of those days.

“The great-grandfather of Abraham went from Pennsylvania to Virginia, where the President's grandfather, Abraham, was born and raised. He left there and went to North Carolina, when first grown, married Mary Shipley, and lived there until three children were born, viz.: Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas; he then, in about 1780, with the Shipleys and Berrys, moved to Beargrass Fort, where Louisville now stands. In this fort Mary and Nancy (my grandmother) were born. While living in the fort he patented a tract of land on Floyd's Fork of Salt River, but never lived on it. In the spring of 1784 the President's grandfather, who was my great-grandfather, was sowing hemp-seed near the fort, somewhere near what is now the

corner of Fourth and Main Streets, Louisville—so I have often heard my grandfather say—and while thus engaged an Indian slipped up and shot him dead. Thomas, the President's father, then six years old, was with his father in the hemp patch, and, at the crack of the gun, broke for the fort. The Indian, anxious to capture the boy, gave chase, and caught him near the fort, and started to run, with the boy in his arms, when Mordecai Lincoln, Thomas's oldest brother, shot the Indian from the fort and killed him. When the Indian dropped he fell face foremost on the boy. The little fellow made a terrible struggle and got from under the dead body of the savage and ran back to the fort. Thus it will be seen how near the father of the future President came to a tragic end in his childhood.

“ ‘Soon after the death of her husband, Thomas Lincoln's mother, with her five children, moved to a small settlement in what is now Washington County, Kentucky, and settled on a branch which took the name of Lincoln's Run. Here she lived and raised her family. Whether she owned the place or not, I do not know; but of one thing I am certain, Mordecai, the oldest son, inherited all the land patented by his father, including the Floyd's Fork land, and another tract in the vicinity of Louisville.

“ ‘Thomas learned the cabinet-maker's trade in Washington County, and worked at his trade in Springfield until he married Nancy Hawks in the fall of 1806. He then went to farming, and farmed one year in Washington County. During that year, in 1807, his first child, a daughter, was born. Her name was Mary Jane, if I am not mistaken, and I suppose it was the birth of this child that leads my venerable relation, Squire Thompson, to the belief that Abraham was born in Washington County. Thomas Lincoln, soon after the birth of his first child, moved to Nolin, near Hodgenville, in what is now La Rue County. Here, on the 12th of February, 1809, Abraham was born. I have this from my father and mother, who then lived in Hardin County, and also from Abraham Enlows, who was living in the neighborhood at the time, and died after Lincoln became President. Enlows said he happened to be passing Thomas Lincoln's just at the time his wife was confined, and he, seeing Enlows, rushed out and asked him to go after a midwife in a hurry,

which he did, and always claimed that the President was named for him as a token of appreciation of his services on that memorable February day.

“ ‘ Thomas Lincoln lived on this Nolin place about two or three years, and moved to Elizabethtown, Kentucky, built a hewed log house on Valley Creek, near where the Louisville and Nashville Railroad now runs, and followed his trade—that of cabinet-maker. While at this place his third child, a son, was born, and died when he was about two years old, and was buried in the grave-yard at the old Baptist Church, south of the town.

“ ‘ Thomas Lincoln lived in Elizabethtown until 1816, and moved to Indiana. Here, in 1818, his wife died, and he came back to Elizabethtown in 1820 and married a widow Johnston, who was a Bush before she was ever married. While living in Indiana, and after his second marriage, his daughter died, leaving Abraham the only one of the family of three children. Here Abraham grew up to over six feet high and nineteen years old, and from this date on he needs no word from me to perpetuate his memory.

“ ‘ The grandfather of the President, the elder Abraham, was a near relative of General Benjamin Lincoln, of the Revolutionary War.

“ ‘ My grandmother, Nancy Brumfield, was the youngest of the elder Abraham Lincoln’s five children, and after his marriage he moved to Hardin County, and lived there the remainder of his life. My great-grandmother, who was the grandmother of the President, lived with him, and died after my recollection, and is buried at old Mill Creek Church, and I suppose I am the only living person that knows where her grave is. She was near one hundred when she died, in 1836. The body of her husband was buried near the fort, where he lived at the time he was killed. His ashes are now sleeping somewhere under the city of Louisville.

“ ‘ I have thought proper to pen down this sketch and send it to you, in order that something might pass into written history that has never been on record, and that others might be corrected, especially in regard to the birthplace of Lincoln.

“ ‘ What I have given you is tradition, handed down from

generation to generation, but I am satisfied it is correct. I always took a great deal of pride in keeping posted in the genealogical history of my ancestors, and got the above facts from my grandfather and grandmother, who were conversant with them, and with whom the President's grandmother lived and died, so that my opportunities for gathering up traditional history have been good.

“ ‘I have now in my possession an old family relic in the way of a book that was owned by the elder Abraham Lincoln at the time he was killed by the Indian.

“ ‘I was born and raised in Hardin County, Kentucky, and served with Matt. Numan, Esq., of your county, in the Kentucky Legislature of 1872-3.

J. L. NALL.”

(“Lebanon Standard,” Kentucky.)

CHAPTER III.

BIRTH AND BOYHOOD OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN—POOR
NANCY HANKS—HER CHILDREN—SALLY BUSH—
LINCOLN IN SCHOOL—A PICTURE.

IN this cabin on Nolin Creek, on the 12th of February, 1809, and two years and two days after the birth of his sister, Abraham, the second child of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln was born, the country then being a part of Hardin County. At this spot two years subsequently another son was born who died in infancy. These were all the children of Thomas Lincoln.

In 1813 Lincoln bought a tract of two hundred and thirty-eight acres of land of a much better quality on Knob Creek six miles from Hodgenville, to which he moved his family. Knob Creek is a branch of the Rolling Fork of Salt River, a tributary of the Ohio. A little over a year after this beneficial change was made Mr. Lincoln sold two hundred acres of this fine farm for five hundred dollars. Still whether he worked at his "trade," which he yet did at times, or on his farm, he accomplished little, nothing thriving under his touch. At this period, Mr. Lamon says, Tom Lincoln was satisfied with a diet of corn-bread and milk, and preferred muscle to brain. In both of these traits Thomas Lincoln was

not peculiar. Even in the most refined communities, so-called, to-day well developed muscle and rounded form are more admired and sought after than the best cultured minds. A fine mind in a mean body is still at a discount in comparison with beauty and attractiveness of face and form, both in Hardin County, Kentucky, and Springfield, Illinois. Wiser men, perhaps, than Thomas Lincoln would now be greatly benefited by a diet of corn-bread and milk. While an exclusive resort to these things may have argued carelessness and improvidence on the part of Thomas Lincoln, there could have been nothing else offensive about it. Corn-bread and milk are not standards of refinement or coarseness, of poverty or wealth. In Bourbon County, Kentucky, I have seen the owner of a thousand blue-grass acres feeding on a diet of corn-bread and milk. Imagine a rich old farmer sitting down to dine day after day with nothing before him but a roll of rich, yellow butter, a pone of luscious corn-bread, and a quart of pure, rich milk, and you have in view what may now be seen anywhere in the magnificent blue-grass region of Kentucky. And I may add that, before the war especially, this diet was the salvation of the inactive, dyspeptic men and women of this beautiful country.

From the cabin on Knob Creek, little Abe Lincoln, who rose to be one of the most remarkable and illustrious men of this or any country or age, took his first lessons at school. Abe was not a prepossessing or promising boy, and there seems no necessity

for straining the point to say that Thomas and Nancy Lincoln; his parents, had any ambition as to his education. They were not people who had serious preferences on such topics. Abe's sister was going to school some, and he went along, more for company than anything else. Zachariah Riney and Caleb Hazel were poor Abe's first teachers. They were not great nor wise men, reading, writing, and ciphering being about the extent of their acquisitions. And it was reserved for a later teacher to predict that Abraham Lincoln would ever be numbered among the real or reputed great men of the world. One of these teachers "kept school" near the Lincoln cabin, and the other several miles away. Under one of them, Mr. Hazel, who was said to be "a fine young man," Lincoln learned to read some, and, as young as he was, to "write an intelligible letter."

Abraham's parents were a kind of church-going people, Baptists, perhaps, at that period, and occasionally he went to hear a sermon. The preaching, like the school-teaching, was poor enough, but here Abraham Lincoln had his first impressions of public speaking. The following statement is found in one of the numerous "Lives" of President Lincoln:—

"Another change of home, however, awaited our young hero. His father, perhaps from the old restless spirit of adventure, but more probably because he found life in a Slave State a most unsatisfactory one for himself, and presenting only the prospect of a hopeless struggle in the future for his children, determined upon removal to the wilds of Indiana, where free labor would have no competition with slave labor, and the poor white man might

reasonably hope that, in time, his children could take an honorable position, won by industry and careful economy."

Most of Mr. Lincoln's biographers have labored under the impression that Thomas Lincoln, his father, left Kentucky on account of his repugnance for slavery. Although this might have been one of the actuating motives, it is extremely improbable that it was. There were then very few slaves in that part of Kentucky, and there is no indication that Thomas Lincoln cared anything about the matter one way or the other. This was long before the day of slavery agitation, and he had, very probably, never given the subject a thought. The poor white people of the South were not unfavorable to slavery. It gave them a place in society, on the color line. Then, too, Thomas Lincoln was a Democrat and a Southerner in his politics. The fact is, he was lazy and shiftless, and being a rover in his tastes, he was anxious to escape from the miserable condition in which he lived to one which was not likely to be worse. He was aided in his inclination to go by one of his quarrels ending in a rencounter, in which he was the victor, and of the consequences of which he had some reason to be uneasy. At least, this is a feasible surmise.

Whatever the motives were, in the fall of 1816 Thomas Lincoln went with his family to Indiana, settling in Spencer County, a mile and a half from the present village of Gentryville. The Lincolns made the journey to Indiana in a way common to that age. Among his varied accomplishments was

some knowledge of flat-boating, and this Thomas Lincoln now turned to his advantage. In a flat-boat of his own construction in the Rolling Fork of Salt River, from the mouth of Knob Creek he started for the Ohio with the greater part of his earthly effects. He had previously disposed of a portion of his tools and other estate for whisky, and a small sum of money. Of course, the whisky was a staple article over in Indiana as well as it was in Kentucky, and on that he expected to realize. But in this he was not very successful. After entering the Ohio he was unfortunate enough to overturn his crazy craft and deposit his goods, whisky and all, at the bottom of the river. Recovering a part of his stock and goods he succeeded in landing at Thompson's Ferry in Posey County. Here he left his property, and after selecting a location in the wilderness about sixteen miles from the river, returned afoot to Knob Creek for his family and other effects. With his wife and two remaining children he now set out for his new home on two horses, perhaps borrowed of some of his friends. They camped out, did their cooking, and slept on the ground. On reaching Thompson's Ferry, Thomas hired a wagon on which he loaded his goods and family, and cut his way to the site he had selected for their future home. The spot chosen by Lincoln was in a rich, rolling country, mainly covered with magnificent forest-trees of every variety peculiar to the region and climate, and was a good one, only that it was not well watered, and Lamon says that Abraham and his sister had to carry water from

a spring a mile away, a labor in which they had not, perhaps, been strangers in Kentucky.

The place which came to be known as the "Lincoln Farm" was located in that part of Posey County which subsequently formed Spencer County, and was a mile and a half from the town of Gentryville. This village did not take its rise for several years later.

Thomas Lincoln's "claim" was described as "the south-west quarter of section thirty-two, in township four, south of range five west, lying in Spencer County, Indiana." But it was over a year after he squatted on this tract before Mr. Lincoln went through the form of recording his intentions as to purchasing it from the Government. He subsequently relinquished half of this quarter-section, and never got his "patent" or deed from the United States for the other half until 1827. This patent was signed by President John Quincy Adams, and was dated on the 6th of June in the year mentioned here. And even after this long period, and notwithstanding the small sum of two dollars then required by the Government for these lands, it does not appear that Thomas Lincoln was able to pay for it himself. The money was, perhaps, furnished by others into whose name the title soon passed.

At this place, soon after his arrival in 1816, Thomas Lincoln put up a miserable shelter for his family, and in which they lived until the succeeding fall. This shed or camp was constructed of poles, covered with bark, and had but three sides, the other

being left open, or partially secured against the inclement and malarious climate. In the course of a year Lincoln managed to clear some land and build a cabin. Into this he moved in the fall of 1817, giving his old shanty to Thomas Sparrow and his wife, who had followed the Lincolns from Kentucky. But even this cabin was without a floor, and was a mean and disgusting make-shift for a house. Yet it was sufficient for lazy Tom Lincoln, who was not long in reaching the conclusion that his new home was extremely unhealthy. In this cabin on the 5th of October, 1818, Nancy Lincoln, the President's mother, died of the disease for years afterwards prevalent in parts of the West, and called "milk-sickness." A few of the surrounding settlers assisted in laying her body to rest in the earth on a hill in the forest, half a mile from her recent cold and cheerless home. At the same spot Thomas and Betsy Sparrow were laid during the same fall, and by the same yet inexplicable and fatal disease. A few others were also deposited here, among the friends of poor Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

Up to this time, and for a year subsequently, life had been sad and cheerless to Abe Lincoln and his sister. How deeply they were attached to their mother, and how little or greatly she had benefited them, it is now a difficult matter to say. A great portion of what has been written about her, I have been sorry to find, is wholly unreliable, and might have been applied by its authors in the strained praise of any real or fictitious person, with about the same claim to

truth and respectability. Although she was subject to moments or fits of melancholy, a fault she bequeathed to both of her children, there is no indication, or at least no other indication, that she aspired to anything for herself or her children, or that she felt dissatisfied with the miserable life she spent with Thomas Lincoln. All the circumstances show that she was as shiftless and worthless as her husband. This becomes more apparent from the change which took place in Lincoln's family under the directing hand of Sally Bush, the new mistress. But whatever else Mrs. Lincoln was or failed to be to her children, she was kind and gentle, to some extent making amends for Tom's rough temper, and in a weak way presenting to them the outlines of a Christian character in her own conduct. That they were greatly attached to her memory, or that there were more than the most ordinary reasons why they should have been, is not at all plain at this time. The Hankses and Sparrows never tired of praising her, and may be all they said was deserved, but from the mouth of her distinguished son she received little praise, and was even mentioned with no apparent pleasure. If Abraham Lincoln ever referred to his "angel mother," and attributed to her all that he was, he meant Sally Bush Johnston, his step-mother. That he ever did anything of the kind, even to her, I am much disposed to consider a mere fabrication. Abraham Lincoln and his sister were much alike both in disposition and appearance. They had slept in the same mean little bed, and had become more alike from

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their common wants, privations, and treatment; and when the new mother came to fill the place but recently abandoned for the grave by their real mother, not even Thomas Lincoln felt and appreciated more keenly the benefits of the change than did these uncared-for children.

While I am aiming to tell merely the truth of Thomas Lincoln and his wife, and give them all that is due them, I crave not any reader's pardon for want of power or disposition to hold up such people as model parents or patterns for those who would rear distinguished and worthy children. It is not sufficient that a child be well born. The duties and obligations of parents do not end there. A misstep or a moment's neglect is a crime to the world and the child, for which both may hold the parent morally responsible. The gift of life is a source of eternal gratitude, but the blunders and short-comings of parentage may only be covered by the doubtful robe of charity. Only good, positive, premeditated, unvarying, constant good, is due to the child from its parents, and only for this should it ever bless and honor them. That it should never curse for the deformity, error, and evil inflicted upon it, is a gift or acquisition never, perhaps, to be too much admired.

Quite a story is told of the way in which Abraham Lincoln exhibited his deep attachment to his mother in writing his first letter to Parson David Elkin, of Kentucky, to induce him to travel a hundred miles over to Indiana to preach a sermon in memory of her. Whether any such thing ever

induced Mr. Elkin to go to Indiana, it is, perhaps, true that he did wander over there, and did preach a funeral sermon on account of poor Nancy Hanks. If young Lincoln was instrumental in this matter, with this act his respect for ordinary usages stopped; for he never marked the spot where her material body was laid by a board or a stone, nor did he that of his nominal mother, Sally Bush, nor of his father.

Still, these children must have had all the ordinary feelings for their mother, and these were intensified by the trials through which they passed, and her own sufferings during the two years they had spent in the milk-sick-cursed and otherwise unhealthy region. They had seen their father cutting from green logs, with his carpenter's ordinary rip-saw, boards to make coffins for the Sparrows, their relatives, and others of the squatters in this vile region, and finally they had seen him with his own hands prepare the green box in which the shriveled and, may be, eternally worthless natural body of their poor old mother was let down into the revolting grave. These were early, sad experiences. But they were in keeping with the common lot of mankind. Let them pass.

In the meantime Sally Bush, or Mrs. Johnston, had become a widow, and early in the winter of 1819 Thomas Lincoln appeared again at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, and asked her to marry him, and return immediately with him to his home in Indiana. According to Mr. Lamon, the only obstacle Sally now presented in the way of accepting Tom's offer was that she was in debt a little. However this may

have been, in a day or two Tom's wishes were gratified, and his second marriage was duly recorded by the clerk of Hardin County. Sally had always possessed a warm feeling for Tom, and it was not now difficult in her changed circumstances to induce her to take this precarious step. She had done no "great things" in marrying Johnston, the jailer; but she had three children of her own, and had, both as a wife and widow, maintained her reputation for being a tidy, honest, "proud body."

Tom had a great many friends of his sort at Elizabethtown; in fact, all kinds of people liked the easy-going, athletic, story-telling Tom Lincoln. And some of these joined their persuasions to his in order to induce Sally to become his wife. They all had Tom's word for believing that he had materially mended his ways, and that he was really a prosperous Hoosier farmer. But Tom had lied about this, and greatly was Sally "taken back" when she arrived at Tom's miserable, floorless hut, and saw his two lean and ragged children. In his estimation Tom was bringing to this place a foreign princess in all her glory. She had an immense amount of rich and essential furniture and household goods, and Krume, Tom's brother-in-law, was hired with his four-horse team to haul Sally, her three children, and this rich stock to Indiana. And the Queen of Sheba and Sindbad the Sailor, in their most gorgeous moments, could hardly have been more wonderful to the startled vision of poor Nancy and Abe than was this new mother, surrounded by her comforts and luxuriance.

She even had a forty-dollar bureau, which was so much above Tom's idea of the fitness of things and his skill as a bureau-maker, that he vainly urged the propriety of selling it. The arrival of this good and spirited woman at the "Lincoln farm" was the first stroke of good fortune in the life of poor Abe Lincoln.

One of the first things Thomas Lincoln had to do under her administration was to put a floor and windows in the cabin. Her comfortable beds took the place of the scant and wretched ones with which her predecessor had been obliged to be contented; Tom's children were taken into her affections, and shared equally in her capacious heart with her own; she clothed their nakedness, and fed them; and at night they lay down in her warm beds secure from the cold blasts, and knowing that they had one great, generous heart to sympathize with theirs, and prompt to every good aspiration, and a hand that would never weary of doing well for them. If these children had loved their poor old mother dearly, the change in their circumstances now must have greatly softened the pains of memory.

Matters were soon much changed for the better on the "Lincoln farm," and Tom Lincoln's career from this on to the end, without bearing any distinguished marks of improvement, was, perhaps, it may be said, uniformly respectable.

Soon after the establishment of the new order of things in the Lincoln family, Abe was decently clothed and again sent to school. His step-mother,

besides becoming deeply attached to him, believed she saw in him qualities that would some day distinguish him among his fellows. In the winter of 1819 he began his first schooling in Indiana in a log house of the poorest kind, a mile or two from his own cabin home. The teacher was Hazel Dorsey, whose name only takes a place in history from the fact of his occupying such a relation to Abraham Lincoln.

His next teacher was Andrew Crawford, and about 1826 he attended school, for the last time, under a Mr. Swaney. The qualifications of these teachers were much alike, and were exceedingly poor. Crawford, however, surpassed his contemporary Solons by setting himself up as a civilizer and model of manners. To the burdensome curriculum of spelling, reading, writing, and ciphering, he added the "school of manners," a department not always maintained at this late date. Some ludicrous stories are told of how long, awkward Abe Lincoln, in poorly fitting clothes, with red and skinny legs sticking many inches too far through his coarse pantaloons, took his first lesson in "manners" under the direction of this "admirable instructor of youth." One of Crawford's methods was to require a pupil to introduce another in formal style to all the others passing around the room and stopping before each one. Any person may imagine with what grace Abraham performed this entertaining ceremony. If he did not soon excel his teacher in "manners," he did in other attainments. In the country schools of that, and even a more

recent date, "spelling" was considered the highest mark of scholarship, and this "all-important branch" occupied the greater part of the attention of "master" and pupils. The time wasted in this trifling and non-essential thing covered a vast desert or chasm in the brain of the common quack who offered himself as a blind guide to the "young idea."

In Abe Lincoln's school days in Indiana "spelling matches" were the business of every Friday, and often of every other day, in the miserable schools the country afforded. Imagine the gaunt form of poor Lincoln standing in a long row of boys and girls, extending around the room, and after numbering "first, second, third," or "one I one, two I's two, three I's three, IV four," or spelling "f-i-r-s-t, s-e-c-o-n-d, t-h-i-r-d," etc., from head to foot, and then having a loud and uproarious "giving-out" of words by the teacher while the pupils spell, "trap, and turn down!" Such great and vulgar enthusiasm did this business of "spelling" create as to give rise to night "spelling-schools," sometimes attended by half of the men, women, and children in the country for miles around. Here were things carried on on a grand scale, indeed. The ordinary school matches were "thrown in the shade." Captains were chosen who were noted for their abilities as spellers, and if possible, too, for their popularity among the "ladies," and these leaders selected their men (girls and boys), taking, first, the best spellers, and then their "sweethearts" and favorites, and finally the poor sticks and scrubs of the crowd or mob. Not unfrequently did these affairs

end disgracefully ; sometimes in " taffy-pullings," sometimes in quarrels, " drunken spree," and everlasting enmities, and sometimes even in the destruction of the miserable school-houses. Besides the mountains of Kentucky, other parts of the earth are still disgraced by these things.

But Lincoln was a good " speller," and his inexhaustible vein of humor gave him great delight in the exciting " matches." Few men, especially among those reared in the West, have not passed through these scenes in some form, and few of them, perhaps, now do not reflect with disgust upon a life they never would live over.

Lincoln was not an ambitious nor industrious boy, but he was fond of reading and study, and soon gained what little there was to be picked up in the Hoosier schools of that day. This he did in a year or less at different times for a few weeks, from 1819 to 1826, and he never was in a school of any kind after that period. Twelve months would cover the whole time Abraham Lincoln ever spent in school, and the little he got there was but the beginning of his education. Had he spent twelve times twelve months there, that too would have been only the beginning of his real education.

THE MOTHER OF LINCOLN—HER HOME AND GRAVE.

" A walk of a quarter of a mile over an ordinary country foot-path brought us to a small, old-fashioned cemetery, situated on a small eminence and covered with an oak-grove and undergrowth of hazel-brush. There are a few graves of the humblest kind, whose places are scarcely

discoverable. Until very recently one of the most humble of these graves was that of Mrs. Lincoln. Some months ago a paragraph appeared in the 'South Bend Tribune,' stating that the grave of Mrs. Lincoln was unmarked in the woods of Spencer County. Mr. Studebaker, a public-spirited citizen of South Bend, and a warm admirer of Mr. Lincoln, determined to mark the grave in some appropriate manner. He proposed to Schuyler Colfax that he would head a subscription with fifty dollars to erect a monument over the grave. Mr. Colfax told him that fifty dollars would be enough to erect a suitable monument, and suggested to Mr. Studebaker that he send the money to some friend at Rockport who would attend to the matter. Accordingly, money was sent to Mr. L. S. Gilkey, at Rockport, who gave his personal supervision to the matter.

"A plain, white marble slab was purchased and put up at the grave. A party of citizens went out from Rockport and put up the monument. Among the number was General J. C. Veatch, who recognized the need of some protection to the monument, and started a dollar subscription on the train as the party was returning to Rockport. The people took hold of the matter heartily, and the result is, a neat, substantial iron fence stands around the monument.

"The monument was put up on the 28th day of November, 1879, and the iron railing was put up May 11, 1880. The following inscription is upon the monument:—

<p>NANCY HANKS LINCOLN, MOTHER OF PRÉSIDENT LINCOLN. DIED OCT. 5. A. D. 1818, AGED 35 YEARS. ERECTED BY A FRIEND OF HER MARTYRED SON.</p>

"Near by the grave of Mrs. Lincoln is the grave of a boy who died while his father was employed in the con-

struction of the railroad. The boy was buried within a few feet of Mrs. Lincoln; and when the iron fence was put up, a wooden railing that had been over Mrs. Lincoln's grave was put over the stranger lad, whose name is not known.

"Near the grave of Mrs. Lincoln are several sunken graves, whose identity is lost. These unmarked graves are the Sparrow family, early pioneers from Kentucky, Mrs. Sparrow being an aunt of Mrs. Lincoln.

"About a quarter of a mile from the little graveyard, in an old orchard on the hill, stands a primitive log-cabin, an exact duplicate of the early home of Abraham Lincoln." (Rockport, Indiana, correspondence "Louisville Commercial.")

CHAPTER IV.

MR. LINCOLN'S BOYHOOD—A PREACHER—HIS FLAT-BOAT
EXPERIENCE—TOM LINCOLN AND HIS SON—THE
LINCOLNS AND HANKSES IN ILLINOIS.

AS a boy, Abraham Lincoln did not like labor, so-called, bodily work. But in this fact there is nothing especial against him, for how many boys in any hundred have liked hard work? As a race they never have taken to it; and most of them have been as lazy as Abraham Lincoln. Books Lincoln liked, and although he had lazy methods of reading and study, such as sitting with his feet above his head, sprawling on his back, or otherwise disposing of himself in ways to give least activity to his brain, he read with great diligence at all times, night and day. Although his opportunities were poor enough to get books, most that he did read were, perhaps, good.

Mr. Arnold says that "he learned to read the Bible, and this book he read and re-read in youth, because he had little else to read." Among the first books read by him were "Pilgrim's Progress," "Robinson Crusoe," "Æsop's Fables," "Weems's Life of Washington," and probably a history of this country. And although he read Sindbad and still more worthless books in after times, this early list is a fair

standard of his reading at more advanced periods. That he ever read or desired to read "every book he could lay his hand on," as has been said of many a man, is extremely doubtful. If he had not a moral character which raised him above such a standard of reading, his necessities and aspirations did aid in giving shape to his literary tastes.

In the meantime Lincoln's physical growth had more than kept pace with his intellectual. Before going to his last teacher he had reached his full height of six feet and four inches, and although he was lean, "raw-boned," wrinkled, and black, he was a giant. As mean as the climate then was in which he lived, he was never sick to any great extent, and both his qualities of heart and mind, and strength of body, made him quite a general favorite. He early exhibited the story-telling or yarn-spinning traits of his father, and even in industrious, time-serving communities these traits have been a vast, popular stock in trade. But at this age Lincoln had made some display of a faculty of a different order, which was destined to distinguish him later in life. This was public speaking. Mr. Lamon gives the following statement from Matilda Johnston, Mr. Lincoln's step-sister:—

"When father and mother would go to church, Abe would take down the Bible, read a verse, give out a hymn, and we would sing. Abe was about fifteen years of age. He preached and we would do the crying. Sometimes he would join in the chorus of tears. One day my brother, John Johnston, caught a land terrapin, brought it to the

place where Abe was preaching, threw it against the tree, and crushed the shell. It suffered much, quivered all over. Abe then preached against cruelty to animals, contending that an ant's life was as sweet to it as ours to us."

Matilda Johnston may not have been very clear in her mind as to the genuine character of preaching; but her statement, with that of others, on this point, goes very far towards establishing Mr. Arnold's assertion that Lincoln was early as well as late in life a Bible-reader. Arnold held but the commonly accepted view of this matter, which shall be again referred to in its proper place. Here, it is enough to say that Mr. Lamon's entire story about Lincoln's preaching, both week-days and Sundays, until his father was forced to break up the practice, is not in keeping with the following language, which is found on the thirty-eighth page of his "Life of Abraham Lincoln:"—

"The Bible, according to Mrs. Lincoln, was not one of his studies; 'he sought more congenial books.' At that time he neither talked nor read upon religious subjects. If he had any opinions about them he kept them to himself."

Even Mr. Lamon, who considered himself Mr. Lincoln's only reliable biographer, as far as he went, maintains that at the age of sixteen or eighteen Lincoln became ambitious and had some great plans of life. While he did not wish to be a carpenter, and did, perhaps, like many other boys, desire to be unlike his father in many respects, this general belief in his early ambition to accomplish something great is

not well founded, as may be seen clearly enough in the course of this history. That he had such ambition is not at all matter of question, but it was a thing of later date; and until it was revealed to him by the proposition to study law, it was a mere fancy without plan or direction. He had some desire to get on in the world, but this did not overcome his disposition to be idle, to tell stories, and to squander his time in small services. While these things may have been, or really were, elements of general popularity, they were certainly unpremeditated.

He lived among a rude and unpolished people, and was himself a model of those with whom he spent his boyhood and early manhood. The term rude does not, however, accurately or, perhaps, justly apply to Abraham Lincoln at any time in his life. Rough and uncouth he was at the outset, and never highly polished, but probably he never was designedly rude. In his extreme moments of paroxysms of strength and roughness he never forgot to be gentle and just in his feelings. In this respect he was never a boy, and was often much more than an ordinary man. Although some men for whom Lincoln worked called him lazy, few had any good reason to complain of his doing less than was expected of him; and no family ever entered by him was without hope of being benefited by his presence. His good humor was infectious, his story-telling was always a source of gladness, his hand was always outstretched to give somebody aid, he shrank from nothing, he could do almost everything, and was always glad to be called

upon to do anything, and with all his awkwardness he was one of the readiest and most convenient young men in all the country. No wonder his step-mother was attached to him! All women were. He was a general favorite. That is, among the rude and unpolished people of Spencer County.

It has been said that Lincoln did not want to take after his father, and would not work at the carpenter trade if he could avoid it. But he did occasionally try his hand at the bench, and although he never reached Thomas Lincoln's wonderful skill in the mysteries of that trade, he was quite "handy with the tools," and possessed really more mechanical ingenuity than his father. Yet Abe preferred to work by the day at anything he could turn to among the neighbors, and this his father submitted to, inasmuch as he reaped the benefits of his son's labor. Abe was generally considered a good hand at any kind of work on the farm, and in hog-killing times he was deemed so essential as to command extraordinary wages, when the regular rate for a day's work was twenty-five cents.

Among his many employers was Josiah Crawford, a crusty old farmer, for whom Abe had a strong dislike. And while he was willing to take Crawford's money, and do his work, he never lost sight of the grudge he held against him, or the disposition to pay him in the same coin for the mean trick he believed Crawford had done him. Some time before, Lincoln had borrowed of this Crawford "Weems's Life of Washington," and although he treasured it as highly

as old Crawford did, and read it to much better purpose, he unfortunately placed it where it got badly damaged one rainy night, and neighbor Crawford, refusing to take it back, required Abe to "husk" (unhusk) or pull corn three days to pay for the book. Abe considered this a great outrage, and viewing Crawford in the light of a friend and neighbor it certainly was. But Abe now owned the book, and Crawford had put a very low estimate upon it, for Abe's work was worth only twenty-five cents a day. With all of Lincoln's goodness of heart and sense of justice he was hardly correct in his view of this case, and his vengeful pursuit of old Crawford on account of it, was the first seriously faulty spot in the poor boy's history. Among Abe's numerous accomplishments at this early period was verse-making, and even this he turned upon his unlucky employer. Crawford was not only very homely in a general way, but had a nose which was "perfectly awful." In his doggerel lines Lincoln celebrated this nose throughout the neighborhood to the great mortification of its owner. He also wrote in his "chronicle," of Crawford's unenviable traits. And thus it was that Lincoln illustrated the error in his own character in his first work of revenge. I do not, however, think it necessary to magnify this case, as I am not sure that Lincoln ever took the matter of the book to heart, or pursued Crawford for any other reason than that Crawford was a good subject for his sport, based upon a shallow feeling of "spite."

While at this point Lincoln's reputation for poetry-making may be looked into a little. Many a boy

whose name has never been known, or perpetuated even in the unwritten annals of the town where he lived and died, possessed more ability as a rhymers than did Abraham Lincoln. Few intelligent children are unable to reconstruct and patch up doggerel verse, and no small number can readily change and add stanza after stanza when the pointer is before them. The faculty exhibited by Mr. Lincoln from his fourteenth or fifteenth to his twenty-second year in that way would not be worthy of notice, therefore, had not one of his biographers especially given undue prominence to it. Abe and his father were both radical or Jackson Democrats, and one of Abe's most noted poems was a Jackson song, designed to throw John Quincy Adams eternally into the shadow. This like the rest of Abe's poetry never went into print, but it must have been very popular in the Democratic community, as much of it was long afterwards remembered by his old and early associates.

At the marriage of his sister he fixed up a poem for the occasion, which Mr. Lamon says was actually sung by the Lincoln family, and by many treated as entirely original with Abe; and Mr. Lamon gives it and several other fragments of Lincoln's "poetry" in his biography.

But none of the "stuff" written by young Lincoln and called poetry is at all worthy of preservation, and certainly not in any other sense than as showing to some extent the character of the boy. Poetry it was not. Then, too, its moral character was very low. So low that even Lamon refused to repro-

duce it in his work, and some of his "lady" informants blushed and blundered in their attempts to recite to the very liberal Mr. Herndon, who put himself to so much trouble to gather so much trash from the memories of a vulgar and unreliable people about Abraham Lincoln.

That Abe early exhibited a genuine taste for poetry, as he showed in after life, there is no doubt. He was exceedingly fond of music, too, and although he often attempted to sing, he could hardly strike a note, and was almost absolutely destitute of musical faculty. The very thought of Abraham Lincoln as a singer is utterly ridiculous. And yet it is, perhaps, no more so than is the "singing" of the great mass of men and women who open their mouths to split and jerk the air and disturb the world with the pretense of making "music," under the thoughtless or false impression that the intelligent world knows no better, or actually wants and appreciates such bare-faced effrontery.

The community in which Lincoln lived as a boy was in no way characterized for its refinement certainly, if it was not one of the most vulgar in an age when vulgarity was to a great extent general on the frontiers. Filthy song-singing and smutty story-telling were the highest sources of amusement to Dennis F. Hanks, John Baldwin, and many of the early friends and companions of Lincoln, and the women shared in the exalted pastimes of the refined and progressive period. To the days and nights, weeks and months spent in hearing or repeating these stories

in Spencer County, Indiana, Mr. Lincoln mainly owed his inveterate disposition to story-telling, and especially his never abandoned taste for stories of questionable character. Throughout his life he unfortunately never rose above that doubtful state which recognizes two moral codes, one which may be printed and one which may not be.

Notwithstanding the share assigned by imaginative writers to Sally Bush in making Abe what or all he was, a general glance at his life from 1819 to 1830, almost leaves the impression that she had little to do with it, and that poor Abe was given over to the idle and evil influences of a worthless and spiritless community, in which he became the chief of "good fellows." During this period no person, perhaps, had more to do with the habits and tastes of Lincoln than Dennis F. Hanks, his cousin. After the death of Thomas and Betsy Sparrow, Dennis lived for several years with the Lincolns, and grew up to be an ignorant, bigoted, whisky-drinking, story-telling, worthless kind of fellow. John D. Johnston, the son of the second Mrs. Tom Lincoln, was always a person of no consequence, one whose "place was always better than his society." The daughters of Sally Bush were a good kind of girls, and, like their mother, were much attached to Abe, and perhaps did him only good, or at least meant to do nothing else to him. The best of the Hankses who had anything to do in shaping the life of Lincoln was John, "Old John Hanks," as he was called in the great campaign times of subsequent days. He was also a relative of Abe,

and although uneducated, in the common acceptance of the term, he was nothing like Dennis, but was a man of upright and reliable character, carrying and deserving to the end the esteem of Lincoln, whom he thought to be the greatest of mortals. The Halls, Grigsbys, and others, also Kentuckians, who followed the Lincolns to Indiana and lived around them, were intimately concerned in the early history of Abe, and some of them took a part in giving it an undesirable and unenviable coloring. Only necessary references will be made to any of these persons in the prefatory chapters of this work.

When Abe was about sixteen years of age he was hired to James Taylor, at the mouth of Anderson's Creek on the Ohio, at six dollars a month to run Taylor's ferry-boat across the Creek and the River. At odd times he worked at other things, even doing the "servant's" work about the house, and continuing with Mr. Taylor through the greater part of a year.

In the spring of 1828 he was employed by James Gentry, the founder of Gentryville, to take a cargo of pork and other articles in a flat-boat to New Orleans. Allen Gentry, the son, was to accompany him, and for this service Abe received eight dollars a month, and board and lodging on the boat. His wages were still claimed by his father, as little as they were, although Abe had made at least one effort to cut loose from his father, and start in the world for himself. But Tom was a hard and greedy master, and his improvident and lazy habits, even

under the careful and energetic management of Sally Bush, made poor Abe's meagre earnings necessary for the common welfare at the "Lincoln farm."

The trip to New Orleans was very successful for Gentry, and valuable, if not also quite honorable, to Abe. The cargo and boat were sold, and the proceeds returned in good money, to the great satisfaction of old Mr. Gentry, who highly praised Lincoln for his good conduct. Abe had, indeed, not only been the chief figure in the management of the boat, but he had been mainly instrumental in disposing of the goods, and making a profitable return for them to the owner. He had proved himself to be a much shrewder and more successful business man than young Gentry. He greatly enjoyed the trip, but was not fortunate enough to return without a scar or two both morally and physically. While lying at some point on the Mississippi, they were attacked in the night by some negroes bent on plundering the boat. After a severe fight, in which Abe received a mark he never lost, the slaves were beaten off.

This was not, however, the most important event of the expedition. Gentry took a lot of counterfeit money at some point on the river, which gave him great uneasiness until Abe assured him that before they reached New Orleans they would easily get rid of it. Wild-cat and counterfeit money was then plenty, and Abe had little difficulty in passing off all Gentry had taken. It had been put upon them, and his moral philosophy did not stand in the way of his serving others as they had been served.

During his Presidency Mr. Lincoln told his Secretary of State of an incident in his life about this time which gave him a wonderful lift in the world. As recited and vouched for by Dr. Holland, it was as follows :—

“As he stood at the landing, a steamer approached, coming down the river. At the same time two passengers came to the river’s bank, who wished to be taken out to the packet with their luggage. Looking among the boats at the landing, they signaled out Abraham’s, and asked him to scull them to the steamer. This he did, and after seeing them and their trunks on board, he had the pleasure of receiving upon the bottom of his boat, before he shoved off, a silver half-dollar from each of his passengers. ‘I could scarcely believe my eyes,’ said Mr. Lincoln, in telling the story. ‘You may think it a very little thing,’ continued he, ‘but it was a most important incident in my life. I could scarcely believe that I, a poor boy, had earned a dollar in less than a day. The world seemed wider and fairer before me. I was a more hopeful and confident being from that time.’”

Mr. Lamon writes in this way about this story :—

“If Mr. Lincoln ever made the statement for which Mr. Seward is given as authority, he drew upon his imagination for the facts. He may have sculled passengers to a steamer when he was ferryman for Taylor, but he never made a trip like the one described; never built a boat until he went to Illinois; nor did he ever sell produce on his father’s account, for the good reason that his father had none to sell.”

Dr. Holland prefaces his story with a statement about Lincoln building a boat, on which he made a

trip to New Orleans with the products of the "Lincoln farm." This was doubtlessly a mistake, for the very good reason mentioned by Lamon. It was easy enough for Dr. Holland to fall into a mistake of this kind, but this did not affect the main incident in the case. It is more likely that Lincoln performed the service for the two travelers and got the silver half-dollars while they were loading and getting ready for the trip with Gentry's cargo. Mr. Lamon indicates himself that Lincoln then had a great deal of time on his hands, much of which the pretty Miss Roby afterwards said he spent with her in talking about astronomy and the physical laws of the world, in all of which she thought Abe very silly, and told him so, but who subsequently discovered that he was the wise boy of the period.

Lamon bluntly says that for this story Mr. Lincoln drew on his imagination; that is, he lied, and knew he was lying when he told it. Now, in the first place, Mr. Lamon gives nothing to substantiate his opinion and statement as to the main feature, and nothing is left on his side but his mere *ipse dixit*. On this ground alone he himself disputes the right of Dr. Holland to credence. But in this case Dr. Holland gives Mr. Seward as authority, and who would believe that Abraham Lincoln, as President of the United States, with all his fondness for "stories," would fabricate lies to immortalize himself with his dignified and matter-of-fact Secretary of State? Although the earth is, perhaps, cursed with a very considerable number of such false, self-lauding yarn-

spinners, Abraham Lincoln was not of that class, either as boy or man, and Mr. Lamson only shakes the foundations of his own reliability with intelligent and well-disposed persons by such unwarranted assertions.

After returning from New Orleans, Lincoln took up his old ways, working around among the neighbors, his wages chiefly going to his father. And thus matters continued until the spring of 1830. In the meantime Nancy or Sarah, Abe's own sister, had been married to Aaron Grigsby, and had died at the time of the birth of her only child. Her marriage took place in 1836, and in the next year she died. Her remains were laid behind the Pigeon Creek Church, a mile or more from the "Lincoln farm," and not beside her old mother's. Before her marriage she, like Abe, had worked as "hired help" in the families of several of the neighbors. She was a plain, modest girl, much like her brother in disposition and face, and of her there were left none but pleasant memories.

Old John Hanks had now gone to reside near Decatur, Illinois; and the daughters of Mrs. Lincoln (Sally Bush Johnston) were married, one to Levi Hall, and the other to Dennis F. Hanks. Through the appeals of John Hanks, and Dennis, who had also made a trip to Illinois, Tom Lincoln and some of his relatives determined to abandon the milk-sick region in which they had so long lived; and early in the spring of 1830 they set out for a healthier country, as they supposed, farther to the west. In

a wagon owned by Thomas Lincoln, and drawn by four oxen, two belonging to him and two to Dennis Hanks, the household effects of the Lincolns and the two daughters of Mrs. Lincoln were taken to the new home. It is said that Abe drove this team, and did the giant's part of the hard work during the muddy and miserable journey. While they were all sheltered in the house of John Hanks four miles from Decatur, a cabin was built for the Lincolns on a bluff on the North Fork of the Sangamon, ten miles west of Decatur. Old John Hanks and Abe broke fifteen acres of the prairie and split rails and fenced the whole field. This was the last work that Abe did directly for his father, and under his authority. He was then of age, and without question as to the propriety of his course he now struck out glad of his freedom from his father, whose authority and ways he did not like, and determined to have the benefits of his own opportunities in the world.

It may be briefly said here that Thomas Lincoln was not satisfied with his new location, and in less than a year left Macon County. After moving several times, he finally settled in Coles County, where he died of a kidney disease, January 17, 1851, at a respectable old age. After their separation in 1830, it does not appear that he and his son ever held much communication of any kind, more than other men would have done who occupied no such natural relationship. Thomas Lincoln had, perhaps, at times been rough and hard in his dealings with his boy, and had sometimes assaulted him even in the presence

of other people. But there is not a shadow of evidence to show that Abe ever held anything against him on that account. Tom was not a brute, and although he had a high temper, he was generally good-natured, and too lazy and easy-going to be excited to sudden and constant extremes in dealing with his family. And besides, very few children when grown remember with feelings of revenge or unkindness the ill-treatment, bad words, or sudden fits of ill-humor, or blows of their parents.

Abe may have had other causes for his desire to be free from the authority and society of his father; reasons that he was brave and good enough to keep to himself. While there is nothing extant to show that Thomas Lincoln did not have for his son the usual degree of feeling and concern, it may not be so apparent that his son returned a like affection for him. Tom Lincoln was always embarrassed, and when Abe could as he began to rise in the world he assisted him; but he seldom referred to or mentioned his name, either before or after his death. This was not by reason of the wickedness or the bad personal habits of Thomas Lincoln. He was not a drinking man, and although he was not, perhaps, always an exemplary Christian, as no lazy man could possibly be that, however stubborn his pretensions, he was nominally one, and died as a member of the Campbellite or "Christian" Church. He had slightly changed his faith one or two times, but he had always been, technically or by classification, a Christian. He did not reach Abe's standard of prosperity,

learning, and respectability, and here it was that he found himself utterly bereft of any cause of pride in his parentage. Several Presidents of the United States were no better off, nor did they, perhaps, more often speak of their youthful days with pleasure when "undreamt of honors" had come upon them.

That Abraham Lincoln was right in his treatment of the memory of his worthless old parents I would not for a moment maintain. That he acted as most others have done under similar circumstances there is no doubt. The most that can be said of this matter is that this plain, earnest man, who prided himself on being one of the people in the lowest and widest sense of the term, and was so regarded by the world, was not very generous and frank about his humble old parents. And yet, after all, was it necessary for him to have acted much differently? Or did he not, indeed, when proper occasion presented, render to them what was due? Had his parents been great people in the eyes of the world, there is no evidence that Abraham Lincoln would have treated them much differently in his dealings with men. That would not have been like him. Such things really belong to more narrow and selfish persons. Humble origin was not his pride. Nor would the most favored one have been. There is literally no ground for believing that Abraham Lincoln would have looked upon life and himself with different proportions of gloom, sadness, earnestness, cheerfulness, carelessness, and concern than he did, under whatever social star he might have been born.

CHAPTER V.

LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS—REVIEW OF HIS LIFE IN INDIANA—
THE PREACHER AGAIN—AN UNENVIABLE CHAR-
ACTER—THE POET AND WRITER IN
SPENCER COUNTY!

AT this time Abraham Lincoln was the tallest man in Illinois, and one of the most powerful as well as most homely. If any man was his equal in strength, it was not then known. Mr. Lamon says of him at the age of fifteen :—

“He was growing at a tremendous rate, and two years later attained his full height of six feet four inches. He was long, wiry, and strong; while his big feet and hands, and the length of his legs and arms, were out of all proportion to his small trunk and head. His complexion was very swarthy, and Mrs. Gentry says that his skin was shriveled and yellow even then. He wore low shoes (mean and disgusting looking under any circumstances), buckskin breeches, linsey-woolsey shirt, and a cap made of the skin of an opossum or coon. The breeches clung close to his thighs and legs, but failed by a large space to meet the tops of his shoes. Twelve inches remained uncovered, and exposed that much of ‘shin-bone, sharp, blue, and narrow.’”

Four years later, by one of Mr. Lamon’s Hoosier authorities, he was represented as being a “long, thin, leggy, gawky boy, dried up and shriveled.”

And at the time he began life for himself in Illinois this description of him is found:—

“The roughest-looking person he ever saw. He was tall, angular, und ungainly, and wore trousers of flax and tow, cut tight at the ankle, and out at the knees. He was very poor, and made a bargain with Mrs. Nancy Miller to split four hundred rails for every yard of brown jeans, dyed with walnut bark, that would be required to make him a pair of trousers.”

While these people do not greatly differ in their descriptions of Mr. Lincoln up to this time, it looks as if they were all trying to make him as utterly frightful as possible. Yet they were, perhaps, not materially exaggerating. It requires about all that the average mortal man can do to look respectable and presentable at best. Turn loose in the country the most fastidious and dressy, clean, and pinky-skinned, curled and scented, city-bred chap, and let him run for two years, and then dress him up as Lincoln is described as being dressed, and what will be produced? The average man unclothed, or clothed as fantastically as poor Abe was obliged to clothe himself, is a mean and miserable-looking thing. And, perhaps, even the great mass of women out of the dress which so well conceals deformity, or in the ordinary dress of man, are “perfect frights.”

Already mention has been made of the little schooling Abraham Lincoln ever received. But this conveys no adequate idea of his attainments on reaching manhood. There was, perhaps, not a book in the whole community about Gentryville that Lin-

coln had not read. He had naturally a fine memory, and this he took three or four good ways of strengthening and improving. Although a great part of his time was passed in hearing and telling stories, however hard he labored during the day, he usually spent the first half of the night in reading. Books that he could not borrow, he read in this way while working for their owners. Reading and telling what he read, or story-telling, were the only things of which he never tired. His step-mother said that "he read every book he could lay his hands on; and, when he came across a passage that struck him, he would write it down on boards if he had no paper, and keep it there until he did get paper. Then he would re-write it, look at it, repeat it. He had a copy-book, a kind of scrap-book, in which he put down all things, and thus preserved them."

The wooden shovel at his father's fireside was his slate of nights at home when he was taking his first lessons in "manners" under Andrew Crawford (not the Crawford of the monstrous nose, who lent him the "Life of Washington"); and when he had "ciphered" a shovel full, he would shave it off with his knife and begin again. In the day-time, when working about his father's shop, or in the field, or at the wood-pile, he used boards or chips for a slate. Old John Hanks said that "when Lincoln, Abe, and I returned to the house from work, he would go to the cupboard, snatch a piece of corn-bread, take down a book, sit down on a chair, cock his legs up high as his head, and read. He and I worked barefooted,

grubbed it, plowed, mowed, and cradled together; plowed corn; gathered it, and 'shucked' corn. Abraham read constantly when he had an opportunity." Lincoln was at the time indicated by "Old John" about fourteen or fifteen years of age. The pretty Miss Roby, as Lamon gallantly styles her, who became the wife of old "Jim" Gentry's son Allen, who, although a Democrat, voted for and believed in Abe Lincoln, told Mr. Herndon that while her future husband and Abe were loading the boat for their trip to New Orleans in 1828, she talked a great deal with Abe. This veracious and admirable woman, who delighted to talk of Lincoln, says:—

"One evening Abe and I were sitting on the banks of the Ohio, or rather on the boat spoken of. I said to Abe that the sun was going down. He said to me: 'That's not so; it don't really go down; it seems so. The earth turns from west to east, and the revolution of the earth carries us under as it were. We do the sinking, as you call it. The sun as to us is comparatively still; the sun's sinking is only an appearance.' I replied: 'Abe, what a fool you are!' I know now that I was the fool, not Lincoln. I am now thoroughly satisfied that Abe knew the general laws of astronomy and the movements of the heavenly bodies. He was better read than the world knows, or is likely to know exactly. No man could talk to me as he did that night, unless he had known something of geography as well as astronomy. He often and often commented or talked to me about what he had read; seemed to read it out of the book as he went along; did so to others. He was the learned boy among us unlearned folks. He took great pains to explain; could do it so simply."

Besides telling what he read and thought in ordinary conversation, Abe early undertook "preaching" as a mode of self-culture as well as amusement. Although he at first engaged in this doubtful business at home in the absence of his parents, he at last made little discrimination as to time, place, or audience. When a strange preacher came to the neighborhood, he went to hear him preach, apparently for no other reason than to supply himself with new material for his own burlesque "sermons." If there had originally been a grain of good in his purposes at home in his discourses to Dennis Hanks, John Johnston, and his sisters, there was certainly none when he extended his services to Nat Grigsby and the other rowdies of the neighborhood. He was ready to preach, as they called it, at a moment's warning, to these jolly fellows, in whose eyes his ability was regarded as wonderful. Nothing pleased him better than the popularity he enjoyed on this score. But the moral aspect of this preaching mania on the part of Abe will not bear close scrutiny. While the so-called preaching of many a country parson, or itinerant chicken-eater and "evangelist," is little else than ignorant burlesque and vulgar mockery, and is deserving of nothing but ridicule and contempt, the spirit that sets itself up in the use of sacred means for mere sport, or even tolerable and just ridicule of vulgar, loud-mouthed, coarse, unlearned, and sacrilegious ranting, is hardly worthy of respect.

That Abe's "preaching" was of a hurtful character

and design is evident enough in the fact of his father's utterly stopping it. But Lincoln was extremely fond of speaking at this period, notwithstanding his reputed "diffidence." And even more than his reading, he keenly appreciated his ability "to speak in public." Three of his standing themes were "cruelty to animals," "General Jackson," and "temperance." He was a temperance lecturer and Jackson politician before he had reached his six feet and four inches. But he could talk anything he had learned or thought, and was not wanting for subjects.

One of the Grigsbys wrote of him :—

"When he appeared in company, the boys would gather and cluster around him to hear him talk. . . . Mr. Lincoln was figurative in his speeches, talks, and conversations. He argued much from analogy, and explained things hard for us to understand, by stories, maxims, tales, and figures. He would almost always point his lesson or idea by some story that was plain and near us, that we might instantly see the force and bearing of what he said."

When William H. Herndon asked Dennis Hanks how Lincoln and himself learned so much in such a community, under such disadvantages, the tickled old fraud answered :—

"We learned by sight, scent, and hearing. We heard all that was said, and talked over and over the questions heard; wore them sleek, greasy, and threadbare. Went to political and other speeches and gatherings, as you do now. We would hear all sides and opinions, talk them over, discuss them, agreeing or disagreeing. Abe, as I said before, was originally a Democrat, after the order of Jackson; so

was his father; so we all were. . . . He preached, made speeches, read for us, explained to us. . . . Lincoln would frequently make political and other speeches to the boys. He was calm, logical, and clear always. He attended trials, went to court always, read the Revised Statute of Indiana, dated 1824, heard law speeches, and listened to law trials. Lincoln was lazy, a very lazy man. He was always reading, scribbling, writing, ciphering, writing poetry, and the like. . . . In Gentryville, about one mile west of Thomas Lincoln's farm, Lincoln would go and tell his jokes and stories, etc., and was so odd, original, and humorous and witty, that all the people in town would gather around him. He would keep them there till midnight. I would get tired, want to go home, cuss Abe most heartily. Abe was a good talker, a good reader, and was a kind of newsboy."

They had at Gentryville debating or speaking meetings, in which all the great questions disturbing and interesting the inquiring mind since the beginning of the world were discussed; such as, "Which has most cause of complaint against the white race, the Indian or the Negro?" "*Resolved*, That wind is stronger than water;" "*Resolved*, That sight is the most useful of the natural organs;" "*Resolved*, That the bee is a more praiseworthy and industrious insect than the ant;" "*Resolved*, That learning is more advantageous than wealth;" "*Resolved*, That the world is more wise and wicked to-day than it was a thousand years ago." And so on. These stupendous issues were handled about as ably as they are now in the same kind of societies over the country and around the gossipy, idle, trifling little towns, and Abe Lincoln was at the head of the debaters.

But Lincoln had another way of self-education, in which he also distinguished himself in Indiana. That was in writing. Even while going to school to the great Crawford, he tried his hand at compositions, which he read for the delectation of others. One of his most fruitful themes was cruelty to animals. He was never so low, thoughtless, or heathenish as to take the least delight in giving pain to an inferior creature, and he seldom passed a day without an instance to point his pen or excite his animadversion. Here it was that Lincoln began to display one of the qualities which eminently marked him among men, compassion for the helpless, the wronged, and the oppressed. This was one of the few qualities in him which rose to greatness.

Abe turned his little schooling to the greatest possible advantage. He took much pride in writing, and was said to have been the best penman in the neighborhood. He was often called upon to write "copies" for others, and one of these Mr. Lamon gives as original. It was this :—

"Good boys who to their books apply,
Will all be great men by and by."

Besides his "poetic" writings before mentioned, Lincoln wrote a great deal in his "scrap-book" which was one of Sally Bush's "seven wonders." And if the specimens given by Mr. Lamon are generously and fairly selected she did not much overestimate the work! Here are two of them :—

"Abraham Lincoln, his hand and pen;
He will be good, but God knows when."

“Time! what an empty vapor ’t is!
And days how swift they are!
Swift as an Indian arrow,
Fly on like a shooting star.
The present moment just is here,
Then slides away in haste,
That we can never say they’re ours,
But only say they are past.”

Satire was a vast element in Lincoln’s speech-making at this period, and one which gave him great popularity. This he carried into his compositions also. He is said to have written many satires. One of them called “The Chronicles of Reuben” involved him in a difficulty which led him to make a further display of the evil genius which actuated him in his compositions of this character. Mr. Lamon is my authority substantially for the story of “The Chronicles of Reuben,” as he is for many of the facts and quotations of this chapter.

Reuben Grigsby and one of his brothers were married on the same day, and they did not invite Abe to the “infare,” gormandizing, etc., and this mortally offended the young giant, who at once set to work with his pen to compose what he dignified with the title of “The Chronicles of Reuben.” After getting about all the vulgarity and meanness he could into this writing, and finishing it to his taste, he dropped it so that one of the Grigsbys found it. And, as he had designed, this raised a violent storm. The Grigsbys declared that Abe must suffer. It was the common opinion, too, in the neighborhood that somebody deserved a thrashing. But that was Abe’s

opinion also, and when the challenge came he was not surprised in the least. He responded to the challenge from William Grigsby in the tone of a man or bully who felt himself to be master of the situation, to the effect that they should be gratified with a fight. The ground was selected and the time appointed, and, true to their instincts, all the bullies in the country were on hand, as were the friends of the chief actors. But the cunning Abe designed to profit by the occasion in more ways than one. His generosity and magnanimity were to have a grand send-off as well as his literary genius and prodigious physical strength. When the moment arrived for the conflict to begin, he announced that as Billy Grigsby was his inferior with the mighty pen, so he was in a contest like the one proposed now, and as he desired that there should be a fair fight, and nothing but satisfaction given to all concerned, he proposed that John D. Johnston, Sally Bush's stick of a son, his step-brother, should take his place in the ring, and that he would willingly abide by the result. This was an immensely popular turn on his part, and was gladly accepted by the Grigsbys, who feared the utter annihilation of poor Billy. With this understanding the combat began. John Johnston "sailed in beautifully" at first, but he soon weakened, and finally went to ground, with Billy on top. The excitement was now intense, and the scene in every way such as to delight the souls of the noble spectators. The time had now come for Abe's next maneuver, the very occasion he had expected, and perhaps, desired. He shouted that Billy

had played foul, and rushing in threw Billy off as he would have handled a feather, set John up, and brandishing an empty whisky-bottle over his head, declared himself to be the "big buck of the lick." This nobody seemed to doubt, and so the affair ended. But everybody knew there had been no foul play, and the Grigsbys and their friends were dissatisfied. Billy, accordingly, challenged Abe to fight him with pistols, but this he declined. Even then dueling was below Lincoln's moral standard.

If any person can find a trace of anything admirable in Lincoln's conduct in this whole affair, he can hardly do it in looking through my eyes. The "Chronicle" may find an apology in the fact that many really humane and fair men have in moments of oppression, when they had lost sight of the guiding finger of the better angel within them, under the evil impression, true may be, but evil all the same, that they had been wronged, have written such scurrilous chronicles to gratify the short-lived, false, and unmanly feeling of revenge, or the mere faculty for fun.

Up to this time much of Abe's writing was of a rather low character, and some of it decidedly vulgar. His pen had touched upon almost everything of interest in the community, high or low, public or private, from cruelty to animals to high theology, from Josiah Crawford's utterly monstrous nose to the innocence of old Mrs. Gordon. The grammatical structure of his compositions at this time will not bear the most tender scrutiny. The only wonder is how he ever wrote or talked so well when he had not, at

the time of the removal to Illinois in 1830, seen an English grammar, or been blessed by association with a single person who knew a sentence printed in one. The books he read, in the main, spoke purely to him, and they were his only teachers. Notwithstanding his deficiency in this way, he wrote a paper on temperance, and one on politics, which were published in some now unknown newspapers. This was certainly reaching a very high summit under very unfavorable circumstances, and Abe felt the importance of it, although he never could have been so great a man in his own estimation, even in his most ignorant days, as was old Dennis Hanks in his.

Some of Abe's admirers, as William Wood, Baldwin, the blacksmith, and Jones, the Gentryville merchant, thought and said long before Abe left Indiana that he would be a distinguished man some day; and Mr. Lamon makes a great deal over Abe's often saying that he would sometime be President of the United States. This saying invariably came from Lincoln in answer to a question about some of his annoying pranks or utterances. This answer was, perhaps, not original with him. He had heard other boys give the same answer under similar circumstances. Whether he had or not, thousands of boys in this country have uttered it, when they knew it was designed as a piece of smartness, in harmony with the act that led to it, and which ceased to be, in its very utterance, a matter of the least concern to them forever. There is no evidence that Lincoln put a deeper stress upon the words he uttered at

these vivacious moments. The character of his ambition has been fully enough set forth in the previous chapters. That he had ambition there is no doubt, at the time of his coming of age, but it was quite vague and indefinite. It had not even fallen into the outlines of anything. He liked himself for his ability to write and speak, and was exceedingly fond of being thought well of. Popularity was already a god with him. But it rested on a belief that may stand the test of all time, and is the great political theory of his native land, that what the majority have tried, and are satisfied with, may be safely maintained and relied upon.

He had some of the swagger and hardness of the bully about him, but a grand element was developing rapidly in him, soon destined to overshadow these, resting, it is believed, on a firmer foundation than human applause. No man could guess what this yet uneducated, strange, extreme, powerful man would become. And it must be confessed that he had left behind him an interesting, if not wonderful, record. Then Spencer County turned her eyes after him as the world has since done. No race of backwoodsmen, no race of superstitious hunters, had ever before sent out a character endowed with such possibilities, so doubtful, so admirable, so crude, so powerful.

CHAPTER VI.

LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS—THE FLAT-BOATMAN ON THE SANGAMON — THE CLERK AT NEW SALEM — “HONEST ABE”—THE BEST AND GREATEST MAN IN SANGAMON COUNTY!—LINCOLN IN THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

LINCOLN now being of age, after seeing his father again settled with his wife's children around him, set out for himself. During the summer, fall, and winter of 1830 he engaged at such work as he could obtain in the neighborhood, holding closely to old John Hanks. From this time his connection with the great Dennis ceased, and only occasionally for a time did he visit his father's family. His separation from the woman he had felt and appreciated most as a mother, gave him some concern, no doubt, but throughout his life he never lost his interest in her, nor ceased to look after her welfare as a son. What assistance he could he also gave to his father, and, although Dennis Hanks thought Lincoln might have been hypocritical, he never ceased; in the best sense, to think of the simple people with whom he had passed his singular and not uninteresting boyhood.

During a great part of the winter of 1830 Lincoln spent in making rails and wood-chopping; and in the following spring he, John D. Johnston, and John Hanks engaged with Denton Offutt to take a

flat-boat load of hogs and other commodities down to New Orleans. They were to receive for this service fifty cents a day each, and at the end have sixty dollars extra divided equally among them. Offutt was a generous patron, and his strong attachment to Lincoln was not only a source of pleasure to poor Abe, but also sometimes gave him no little uneasiness. Offutt had been unsuccessful in getting his boat built, and when these men joined him at Jamestown in March he was no nearer ready to begin the trip than when he had engaged them. But they were now unwilling to abandon the undertaking, and accordingly set about building the boat themselves. They established themselves in a shanty with Lincoln as cook, at Sangamontown, and in four weeks had the boat ready to be launched. Loaded with live hogs, corn, and barrel-pork, they were soon moving down the Sangamon. On Rutledge's dam below New Salem the craft stuck fast, and was only set afloat again by what Offutt and the people about New Salem, who were looking on, considered Lincoln's ingenuity and strength. At any rate the event and the part he took in it put Lincoln to thinking on a new subject to him, and very greatly elevated him in Offutt's good opinion. Offutt had at first been predisposed in Lincoln's favor, and he now thought Lincoln could do anything, and in this belief he always remained. The trip was at last successfully completed, and, by way of St. Louis, Lincoln and his companions returned home, Hanks going to his family, near Decatur, and Lincoln visiting Coles

County with John Johnston. This trip set Lincoln to thinking of the difficulties of navigating small rivers, and although nothing seemed to come of it for a time, in 1849 he actually obtained a patent on an "improved method of lifting boats over obstructions in rivers." The little, rough model, which conveyed his idea to the Patent Office still stands in one of the cases in the large hall of the Department of Patents at Washington, and bears the appearance of having been cut out of boards with the inventor's pocket-knife. It is a simple model of a steam-boat, and bears the name of Lincoln, and the fact that the patent was granted. Although his plan was regarded as impracticable, or for some reason nothing of consequence ever came out of it, the plain little model will remain as long as the Patent Office itself, and increase in interest with the flight of time, like many other things connected with the name of Abraham Lincoln. The main idea of this invention was the attachment of huge bellows to the sides of the boat, which were to be filled with air, as occasion required, to lighten the vessel over shoals.

For many years the improvement of the Sangamon River was a theme of great moment to Lincoln, and one of his first speeches made in the State was on that subject. About this speech old John Hanks said that "a man by the name of Posey came into our neighborhood and made a speech. It was a bad one, and I said Abe could beat it. I turned down a box or keg, and Abe made his speech. The other man was a candidate. Abe was n't. Abe beat him

to death, his subject being the navigation of the Sangamon River. The man, after the speech was through, took Abe aside, and asked him where he had learned so much, and how he did so well. Abe replied, stating his manner and method of reading, and what he had read. The man encouraged Lincoln to persevere."

After the trip with Offutt to New Orleans, Lincoln did not return to New Salem until early in August, 1831. His friend, Mr. Offutt, had concluded to start a store at that point, and this it was, no doubt, that brought Lincoln to it. While waiting for the arrival of Offutt and his goods, Lincoln was unengaged, and was looked upon as a loafer. But he was not long in demonstrating that he was capable of being much more. An election came off at this time, and no competent person being found for clerk, Lincoln was asked if he could write, and felt able to perform the functions required. He simply replied that he could write a little, and would try to fill the place, which he did with great satisfaction to all parties. This was his first public political service, and had the good effect of favorably introducing him at New Salem.

In the course of time Offutt's goods arrived, and Lincoln was soon installed as chief clerk. He also took general charge of affairs at the mill, and was Offutt's main reliance for everything in his rather loose system of business. Lincoln did his work well, and although his reputation grew rapidly, it was by no means in keeping with Denton Offutt's desire. Offutt was a Kentuckian, but would have reached

the same degree of excessive admiration for Lincoln if they had not hailed from the same State. While engaged in Offutt's store, or subsequently in his own, Lincoln was fortunate enough to have his reputation for honesty crystalized into the term "Honest Abe," which, with its slight variations, lasted his life out, and, indeed, will cling to his name forever.

It is said that on one occasion, when finding that he had overcharged a woman six and a fourth cents, on a bill of two dollars and six and a fourth cents, after closing the store at night he walked three miles to return the amount overcharged. At another time he discovered that a four-ounce weight had been left on the wrong side of the scales without notice, and thus a customer had been cheated out of the just weight. Unwilling to begin the day's business with this thought on his mind, he again closed the store, and, in a long walk before breakfast, visited the customer's house to correct the deficiency.

It was not, however, alone in acts of this kind that Lincoln acquired and deserved the title of "Honest Abe." He always spoke of himself in the plainest and frankest manner. What others would have concealed out of respect for him, he himself revealed. He never resisted, but rather invited a jest about his awkward dress or person; and where the disposition was apparent to make him the subject of a joke he rendered the way easy. Wherever he had an advantage, also, he hesitated in taking it, and often declined to do so. As he became older and more developed this disposition grew upon him, and,

in all his dealings with men, was characteristic. He was the friend, without solicitation, of the helpless, the weak, the needy, and the wronged. It was always known on what side he stood, if the weak or oppressed or innocent were put against the powerful; or right against wrong; or want against ease and luxury; or where gentle charity and a strong, hopeful hand were needed to brighten life a little for another, or relieve it of undue pangs from cold, or hunger, or infirmity. He had shown this great quality on his first battle-field in Indiana, although in a moment of frenzy or calculation he had departed from it; and whatever may have been the principles underlying this conduct, it never left him, but grew in beauty and strength as his life became of more consequence.

But he had other qualities, which greatly recommended him at New Salem; even more with some than his honesty. The extravagant Denton Offutt now boldly gave out that Abe knew more than any man in the United States, and would some day be President. As an argument in favor of these propositions, Denton declared that Abe could then throw down, outrun, or whip any man in Sangamon County. This was putting a responsibility upon poor Abe that he did not crave, and Offutt's loud talk soon brought the trouble of which his good character and more than suspected powers had as yet relieved him at New Salem. Sangamon County had not only quite a number of bullies, but actually whole communities of them. Of this character was Clary's Grove, and the "Clary's Grove boys" made New Salem their

general rendezvous. Jack Armstrong, a powerful fellow, was their leader, and it was their custom to initiate every new-comer, at all worthy of their notice, by giving him a good drubbing, or otherwise taking him through a regular course of bullying, which, if terminating to their liking, resulted in the stranger's being duly taken in as a good fellow, or kicked out of the community, as they decided most appropriate.

Abe had escaped this process, and the Clary's Grove boys felt greatly annoyed at Denton Offutt's bragging. One of them finally bet Offutt ten dollars that Jack Armstrong was more than a match for Lincoln. This was soon noised about, and Clary's Grove and New Salem were excited to the highest pitch. As much as Abe wished to avoid anything of this kind, he felt himself obliged to stand up to Offutt's folly. The struggle had to come. Armstrong, though powerfully built, lacked the height and length of arms belonging to Abe. Still Lincoln felt doubtful of his man, and after they had vainly attempted to throw each other for some time, and Abe had lifted Jack up at arm's length and held him in the air with the hope of bringing him to the ground on his back, and all to no purpose, he proposed to Armstrong that they should quit, as neither was likely to gain any advantage. But the bully had become enraged, and bent on a "foul" he now made at Abe's legs, whereupon the latter seized him by the throat, and shook him like a dog. This operation amazed and enraged the Armstrong men, and

a general fight was only prevented by the interference of one of the old and respected settlers. Lincoln had fired up when he saw Jack's attempt at a "foul," and loudly proposed to whip him or any of the Clary's Grove bullies. But when big Jack had done a mean thing he was not the last man to see it, and make amends for it in his way. Above all things he liked a man who had the pluck that Abe had displayed, in standing up almost single-handed against such a set as his. And when Abe's hand dropped from his throat, he immediately took it up in a warm grasp, declaring that Abe was the best fellow that had ever lit down in those parts; and from that time he was one of the best friends Lincoln had in the whole country. And many a day and night Abe spent in Jack's cabin, where Jack's wife fed him on wild honey, and liked him almost as much as she loved the faithful and generous Jack.

This was not Lincoln's first experience in this line in Illinois. While visiting in Coles County, after his trip to New Orleans, one Daniel Needham, a famous bully and wrestler, having heard of Abe's prowess, and desiring to nip a growing reputation at once, which might give him some annoyance in the future, traveled over to meet Lincoln; and having apprised him of the nature of his visit, they fell to it at once.

The knightly Daniel soon found himself twice sprawling on his back, with his generous victor's offer to thrash him soundly, all for his own good, ringing in his startled ear. The rueful knight, glad to

get off with a whole body, gave up the field without further question.

Sometime after the Black Hawk War began, Denton Offutt failed in business, and Lincoln was again out of employment. Poor Denton had flashed upon New Salem, had helped with a will to introduce the "coming man," and now disappeared, never in the remotest way to be heard of again, either dead or alive.

In the fall of 1831, Lincoln had been elected captain of a militia company in a meeting at Clary's Grove, and although this "honor" was thrust upon him in his absence, he accepted it thankfully. Want of employment, his fondness for adventure, and the general Indian hunting spirit of the time, induced Lincoln to enlist in the Sangamon company from his neighborhood. He was at once put up for captain. But the company marched to Rushville without organization. There the election was held, and Lincoln's only opponent for the captaincy was William Kirkpatrick, a man for whom he had worked, perhaps, or at whose mill the lumber had been sawed for Offutt's flat-boat the year before. At all events, Lincoln is said to have entertained some ill-feeling for this Kirkpatrick, and was greatly pleased over his defeat. The election was held in a very primitive and matter-of-fact way, the two candidates taking their positions apart, and their supporters falling in line with them. Three or four to one of the whole company stood on the side of Lincoln, and even some who went to Kirkpatrick at first, when they saw

how the case was, came over to Lincoln. After his election, which gave him more gratification than any former event of his life, Lincoln made a short speech, thanking the "boys" for their preferences for him, and making some fair and laudable promises as to his conduct in the future.

The Illinois volunteer force was commanded by General Whiteside and accompanied by Governor Reynolds, and was formed into four regiments and a spy battalion. It was composed of some as rough men as ever went into an army, and Lincoln's company especially had a large proportion of hard fellows. General Whiteside was a resolute man, but not a very good soldier or much of a disciplinarian, and his command of this mob-like force was little more than nominal. This state of things led to his breaking the understanding with the regular officer, General Atkinson, and the affair known as Stillman's Defeat. A somewhat full account of this war is to be found in a preceding volume of this work; hence it is only designed here to mention those things more especially pointing to the career of Abraham Lincoln.

During this short campaign there was some starving, with much hard marching but little fighting, and on the 28th of May, after a little over a month's service, the volunteers were discharged. Both General Whiteside and "Captain" Lincoln went into the new companies that were immediately enlisted, and served as privates until the massacre or battle of Bad Axe, the capture or surrender of Black Hawk, and the end of the war. Although Lincoln saw few

hostile Indians, was in no battles, it was out of the question for him to be engaged in such an affair without making a record, "good, bad, or indifferent." The chief object of a very considerable part of Governor Reynolds's army was to have sport. Little else could have been expected in such a campaign. And although Lincoln would not have chosen to take that view of it, few men in his company or the army enjoyed the sport more than he did. Sangamon County put him up as the champion wrestler of the army, and during a great part of the Whiteside campaign it is said he actually wore a handkerchief around his waist to be ready on the slightest notice to verify his reputation as the head buck of the ring. In foot-racing, jumping, and yarn-spinning, not to mention card-playing, Lincoln took a hand, and in most of these "sports" excelled. When work or marching was to be done, he led his company too, and thus his friends and popularity increased. In the new organization he was a member of the "Spy Company," independent to some extent, commanded by Dr. Early, of Springfield, and mainly used in carrying messages and in scouting. In this hard service Lincoln did not only not flinch, but as before managed to maintain his good reputation.

During the Whiteside campaign Lincoln's enthusiastic friends, like Denton Offutt had done, carried things to such an extravagant length as to lead him into the first defeat, perhaps, which had ever befallen him. They put him against the whole army, and declared themselves ready to stake all their available

property on their faith. But the challenge was accepted by a Mr. Thompson, unknown, probably, to Lincoln and his friends, and who, it was found, had a host of backers. Lincoln had barely felt this man, when he announced to his friends and the excited Clary's Grove boys that Thompson was the most powerful man he had ever met, and that he was unable to cope with him. Thompson succeeded with great dexterity in getting his favorite hold, and the result was as Lincoln had predicted. In the second fall Lincoln also went down. Lincoln's friends declared this to be a "dog-fall," and at once began the necessary arrangements for a general fight. But this "Captain" Lincoln checked immediately by candidly stating that he had been fairly thrown both times. There is some doubt about this being the exact truth as to this affair, although it is substantially the commonly accepted story. Some of Mr. Lincoln's friends who wrote of his acts and were in the Black Hawk War with him, denied it mainly, and always held out that Lincoln never was fairly thrown, and that no man was ever physically equal to him.

About the time the army marched towards the Mississippi in April an order was issued forbidding the discharging of fire-arms within fifty yards of the camp. "Captain" Lincoln was the first in his company to break this order by firing his pistol within ten paces of camp. For this offense he was held under arrest and his sword taken away for the day. On the succeeding morning, however, he resumed his command, and nothing more was done about the

matter. This was not the end of his troubles, however. When the army was lying at the mouth of Rock River some of Lincoln's men were concerned in robbing the officers' quarters of several gallons of whisky, on which many of them got drunk, and were unable to march on the following morning when the order was given to move up the river. It was ten o'clock before the company set out, and then some of the men fell by the way to sleep off the whisky. For this affair "Captain" Lincoln was put under arrest and for two days wore a wooden sword, although he was not in the least responsible for it.

One of the good things related of Lincoln on this hunt after Black Hawk was substantially this. An old Indian came into the camp one day after Stillman's Defeat, and threw himself on the mercy of the soldiers. A cry for his life at once arose in Lincoln's company, and many a rough fellow was ready in a moment to carry it out. Seeing his danger, the old man now threw down a letter he carried from General Cass vouching for his friendship and good character. But this did no good, the men thought him a spy, and were bent upon carrying out their original design. At this juncture Lincoln jumped between the old man and his pale-faced enemies, declaring that he would defend him, they should not take his life. Even the Clary's Grove boys had never seen Abe rise to such a height of passion and power before, and the boys thought it well to fall back and obey orders. One of them was bold and foolish enough to say that Lincoln's interference was cowardly. This further

enraged Lincoln, and losing the sense of the officer in that of the Sampson, he asked any man who thought him a coward to try him. But this they all declined to do, although he offered to accept any mode they might select. This was an unusual way for an officer to act, but Lincoln knew that discipline did not apply to a mob, and although his risk was a considerable one, he met it in the only method which was likely to bring success.

CHAPTER. VII.

LINCOLN'S PROGRESS—HIS FIRST RACE AND DEFEAT—
SURVEYOR—POSTMASTER UNDER GENERAL JACK-
SON—LITERARY AND LAW STUDIES—
IRRELIGION.

RETURNING from the Black Hawk War, Lincoln again found himself out of employment, and somewhat dissatisfied with his precarious way of getting bread. His Indian campaign had been of service to him in various ways, and to him had been time well-spent. He had dealt generously and manfully with the men under his charge, and from first to last he had made friends among a people who were not likely to forget that they were his friends. He had very beneficially extended his acquaintance with men, some of whom, like General John D. Whiteside and John T. Stuart, figured quite extensively in his subsequent history.

One thing was now evident in Lincoln's disposition, that he did not desire to make a living by farm-work and days' labor. He had always been represented as a lazy fellow; however, just as all others have been, by the class of people with whom he was reared, who liked to work with books and do something besides dig and maul rails. This is really all there ever was in the charge of laziness made

against Lincoln. He simply had tastes and aspirations his associates had not, and he desired to shape his life more in accordance with these tastes and inclinations, without especial reference to the habits or course of others. Such a man has always been called a lazy man by "working-men," although he might never lose a moment's time from the pursuit of his choice.

Old Elizabeth Crawford, Josiah's wife, said Lincoln "was no hand to go at his work like killing snakes." He would hang around after noon and tease the girls, and throw the man whose nose he liked to celebrate, a time or two before going to the field. But most of these people gave Lincoln a good name as to his disposition to work, and work well. The women never wanted for wood, water, baby-nursing, or anything else, when Abe was about. And who could chop a tree or split a rail equal to him?

Since entering Illinois, Lincoln has been seen only in his physical and social qualities. Some little must now be told of his progress in other things.

Even if Lincoln had not been fond of books and learning, his growing popularity would have rendered it necessary for him to make an effort to keep up in mental improvement and knowledge. Fortunately, New Salem had a school-teacher who knew some things, and whose name has become eternal by the service he rendered Abraham Lincoln, whose acquaintance with him began while acting as an associate clerk of the first election he saw in New Salem. This teacher was Minter Graham, the chief glory of whose life,

even in his own estimation, was his having been an associate, and, in some sense, a teacher of Lincoln. Graham had the honor of being the first man, perhaps, who ventured to say to Abe that if he expected to become a public man, the best thing for him to do was to study English grammar. Minter had no grammar himself, but he knew where one could be got, about six miles from New Salem. A walk of that extent was nothing to Lincoln, and soon the book was in his possession. This was while he was clerking for Offutt. He studied the book in the store and out of it, in the shade of the trees, in the woods, and everywhere when he could catch a moment, and, with the aid of Graham and one or two others, he soon felt himself master of the difficult science. This was a great achievement. He had made another long stride separating him from the savage. He now began to drop much of the unpolished language which had characterized his speech. But he was yet far from being a good grammarian, and, perhaps, never did become one in any very strict sense of the term. And although Mr. Lincoln could form a beautiful sentence or speech, and knew when it was so, grammatically and otherwise, he never outgrew his disposition and early training in the use of slang and vulgar terms. But before he entered upon the study of a profession, he was above the folly and disgrace of not being able to speak and write his native tongue with a respectable degree of precision.

As in other things, so as to his knowledge and use of language, Mr. Lincoln was frank and unpre-

tentious. In his speech at Chicago, July 10, 1858, he told the truth about this matter in this manner:—

“Gentlemen, Judge Douglas informed you that this speech of mine was probably carefully prepared. I admit that it was. I am not master of language; I have not a fine education; I am not capable of entering into a disquisition upon dialectics, as I believe you call it; but I do not believe the language I employed bears any such construction as Judge Douglas puts upon it. But I don’t care about a quibble in regard to words. I know what I meant, and I will not leave this crowd in doubt, if I can explain it to them, as to what I really meant in the use of that paragraph.”

But Lincoln’s studies were not confined to Kirkham’s grammar. He eagerly read Minter Graham’s books, and all others he could get, and very well kept up the reputation the “pretty Miss Roby” and Denton Offutt gave him. After his return from the war his chief business seemed to be to make himself agreeable to the people, a thing in which he was very successful. The fact is, Lincoln’s army life had raised him in the estimation of his friends, and, perhaps, in his own, and he had a strong desire to figure some way in political office. The actions of his friends were not behind his own desires. An election for the Legislature was soon to occur, and Lincoln was requested to make the race. This he at first declined to do, on the ground that his acquaintance in the country was too slight. But under the impression that the race would still more favorably introduce him to the people, although there could be

no chance of his election, he made the announcement of his candidacy. This step can hardly be looked upon under the circumstances otherwise than as very bold, if not presumptuous. Still it must be remembered that without the pressing demands of his friends he would not have pushed himself out at this time. James Rutledge, the founder of New Salem, especially urged him to make the race, and he honestly felt that he had discovered in Lincoln traits peculiarly fitted for successful public life. Lincoln had already surprised him and other members of the "Literary Society" by a wonderful speech or two. Mr. Lamon gives the following account of Lincoln's first speech:—

"Mr. Lincoln's first appearance on the stump, in the course of the canvass, was at Pappsville, about eleven miles west of Springfield, upon the occasion of a public sale by the firm of Poog and Knap. The sale over, speech-making was about to begin, when Mr. Lincoln observed strong symptoms of inattention in his audience, who had taken that particular moment to engage in what Mr. James A. Herndon pronounces 'a general fight.'

"Lincoln saw that one of his friends was suffering more than he liked in the *mêlée*; and stepping into the crowd he shouldered them sternly away from his man, until he met a fellow who refused to fall back. Him he seized by the nape of the neck and seat of his breeches and tossed him 'ten or twelve feet easily.' After this episode, as characteristic of him as of the times, he mounted the platform, and delivered, with awkward modesty, the following speech:—

"Gentlemen and fellow-citizens, I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by many friends to become a candidate

for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of the internal improvement system and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected, I shall be thankful; if not, it will be all the same.'"

No politician ever started in life with a more remarkable speech, or under more striking circumstances. His speech was of less importance to his auditors, and to many of them indicated less ability for the office he sought, than the act which preceded it. That he had great physical power to command men, and the disposition to use it when emergency required was of as much importance as his faculty for speech-making and book-learning. Such a character could count safely on the enthusiastic support of the average pioneer in the bear-hunting, scalping-knife age of the Republic. Above the mass of the people in his feelings and acts Lincoln never cared greatly to go. Nor did he ever fall below. On general principles he considered "the people" right, and he always felt himself to be so much one of them that their quarrels, their hardships, and their sports were little less matters of concern to him than their highest social and political interests.

The "sentiments and principles" of this Pappsville speech indicate, as far as they can, that Mr. Lincoln was a follower of Henry Clay. These were the great doctrines of the Whigs. Still Mr. Lincoln's politics had a local application, which was of the first importance at this period. His experiences on the

Sangamon River had a great deal to do with his internal improvement views, and the question of improving that river was of the first concern to all Sangamon County.

Lincoln had started out as a Democratic boy, and he was yet known to be a champion of General Jackson, in some respects. Illinois was then a strong Democratic State, but there were two classes of Democrats, unconditional, extreme, or "whole-hog" men, who were for Jackson under any conditions, and moderate or nominal Jackson men who were disposed to look after the popular demands and interests without consulting General Jackson. It is, perhaps, true that Lincoln was in the middle ground at this time, and remained there until after the next election. Henry Clay had become his model, and so soon as he gained strength enough he was not tardy in making the fact known. Even in this his first canvass, he was not treated as a Jackson man, although he was certainly one in his general conduct. Arrayed in an exceedingly unattractive dress, he made a number of speeches throughout the country, and told his rude, if not ribald jokes with much effect among the "boys."

Some of his opponents started the cry that it was a disgrace to the county to run such a man as Lincoln for the Legislature. His dress was odd enough, and, perhaps, below the general standard, but morally he was fully up, and intellectually far ahead of Sangamon County. He issued a printed address to the people of the county, in which he discussed briefly

the general question of internal improvements, and especially the improvement of the Sangamon, in which he pretended to be as well informed as any man. As the general structure and grammar of this address were probably overhauled by others before it made its appearance, it is not deemed of any material benefit to reproduce it here.

On the subject of education, the address says :—

“That every man may receive at least a moderate education, and thereby be enabled to read the histories of his own and other countries, by which he may duly appreciate the value of our free institutions, appears to be an object of vital importance, even on this account alone, to say nothing of the advantages and satisfaction to be derived from all being able to read the Scriptures and other works, both of a religious and moral nature, for themselves.

“For my part, I desire to see the time when education—and by its means, morality, sobriety, enterprise, and industry—shall become much more general than at present, and should be gratified to have it in my power to contribute something to the advancement of any measure which might have a tendency to accelerate the happy period. . . .

“Considering the great degree of modesty which should always attend youth, it is probable I have already been more presuming than becomes me. However, upon the subjects of which I have treated, I have spoken as I have thought. I may be wrong in regard to any or all of them; but holding it a sound maxim that it is better only sometimes to be right than at all times wrong, so soon as I discover my opinions to be erroneous, I shall be ready to renounce them.

“Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have

no other so great as that of being truly esteemed by my fellow-men, by rendering myself worthy of their good opinion. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition, is yet to be developed."

There is a very great defect in the spiritual tone or moral character of this ambition, as Mr. Lincoln announces it. Yet substantially there may not be. I have before intimated that Mr. Lincoln never quite rose above the apparent necessity of two moral codes. And yet it would, perhaps, be an ungracious, at any rate a needless, task, to attempt to show that he regarded the applause of man as the prime and sole motive to all good and true life. It may be that the great weight of the unexplained evidence in his career disproves such a supposition. By the fruit the tree is to be judged. Yet it is sad to reflect that even a good deed may be the outcome of the treacherous policy of a bad principle. The man who uttered the maxim, "Honesty is the best policy," never, perhaps, by all the good he did, made amends to the world for the falsity and evil of the sentiment. Honesty, or any other virtue, put on the ground of policy merely, is a lie and a cheat. While a man lost to the good opinion of the world is, perhaps, a lost man, that "virtue is its own reward" is no less true now than when philosophy first began. The esteem of good for its own sake is of supreme importance; the esteem of the fellow-man then naturally follows, and is of secondary moment. An ambition not built in this way rests morally on a foundation of sand. It would be charity to attribute this defect in Mr. Lin-

coln's first announced principle to a defect in his speech, not to his heart. His life possibly justified such a charity, as has been the fact in the lives of most other men who have made substantially the same utterance. Living men are better than printed theories.

Although Mr. Lincoln was badly defeated in this first political race, one result must have been exceedingly gratifying to him, and well exhibited his standing where he was known. The two candidates for Congress were both Democrats, and in his New Salem precinct they received separately one hundred and seventy-nine and ninety-seven votes, while Lincoln received two hundred and seventy-seven, one more than both together, and his opponent for the Legislature only received three votes in the precinct. What better index to a man's character among men than that the whole community prefers him to the rest of the world? This is a very high test, and one that few public men are able to stand. May a prophet be honored anywhere better than in his own land?

This business, over Lincoln's next concern was about what to do and how to live. His numerous friends were ready, any of them, to take him in, from Jack Armstrong and his wife, Hannah, to Minter Graham. But Lincoln could not long be idle, and he was unwilling to be dependent on his friends, without the prospect of being able to make some adequate return. There were at that time in New Salem three mixed stores, that is, having groceries,

dry-goods, and other needed articles, as is still customary in country places. These were all owned by friends of Lincoln, and were all for sale, "for good reasons." Lincoln's first thought was to become a merchant. And, although he had not a cent of money, it was by no means a difficult matter to carry out this desire. And in a short time he and a drunken fellow by the name of Berry, under the style of "Lincoln and Berry," were the only merchants in their line in the place, having bought out the three establishments.

In the choice of strictly "business" pursuits men are mainly influenced by their money-making or acquisitive instincts. This was not the case with Lincoln; or, at any rate, making a living was an essentially second-rate consideration with him. He had discovered, in the very limited scope of his observation, that the merchant was a very important, if not the most consequential, man of the town. That was so at New Salem. It had been the case at Gentryville. And this was the secret of Mr. Lincoln's anxiety to become a merchant. He wanted to be the first man of the place. Even as bad as New Salem was, it required some qualities which would be deemed tolerable, perhaps, in respectable communities, to be first there. This fact is not, however, the matter of moment. It is the motive of the man. To be a man of importance among men, for the sake and gratification of being first, was Mr. Lincoln's ambition. At the bottom of his earliest, least, latest, and greatest acts lurked this serpent of supreme selfishness.

The winter of 1832 and a part of the next year were spent by Mr. Lincoln as a merchant on his own account. But the adventure was disastrous. He was unfit for such business, and Berry was a drunkard, who drank up and squandered their profits. The result was that they sold out to two men who, after running the store awhile, ran off themselves and left Lincoln with a debt which he did not get rid of for many years. He and Berry had bought all three stores on credit, and they had sold out on credit without realizing anything. It need only to be added here that Berry died soon after the complete failure of this plan to be great, and that Lincoln, in the course of time, paid all the debts for which he and his partner were liable. Some of them may have been canceled on the score of good friendship. But this is an inference only.

Much has been said and written about the charge that Lincoln sold whisky by the dram while he was engaged in this unfortunate mercantile adventure at New Salem. On this point the following statement, found in Lamon's book, and made by an old Democrat, who had as good an opportunity to know the truth as anybody, and no greater incentive for telling it:—

“Came to Clary's Grove in 1829; knew Lincoln well; knew Jim and Row Herndon. They sold out to Berry, one of them did; afterwards the other sold out to Lincoln. The store was a mixed one, dry-goods, a few groceries, such as sugar, salt, etc., and whisky, solely kept for their customers, or to sell by the gallon, quart, or pint—not

otherwise. . . . Am a Democrat; never agreed in politics with Abe. He was an honest man. Give the devil his due. He never sold whisky by the dram in New Salem. I was in town every week for years; knew, I think, all about it."

This old man told the truth, perhaps, although some of Mr. Lincoln's New Salem friends and contemporaries declared that he did sell it by the dram. Douglas and others of his political opponents subsequently brought up this matter, and treated it as a fact beyond dispute, that he did engage in this low business while on the road to greatness. One thing is certain, and that is that he did sell whisky in quantities large enough for many drams, and that without scruple.

On the subject of whisky-selling and whisky-drinking Lincoln was not quite consistent. One of his first printed compositions was a temperance lecture. In his more politic and skillful days he delivered some lectures on temperance, and in 1854 he joined a temperance organization, although he never attended another of its meetings. Yet he often took a dram, and was not inclined to be a friend to any statutory measures which tended to restrain or direct the passions and pursuits and practices of men. In this respect Mr. Lincoln sided with that vile system of political policy that favors letting every man go to the devil in his own way, without regard to the general welfare. A doctrine of late years quite congenial to politicians of any camp.

After Lincoln's failure in "business" he took to

reading and study with great vigor, and now for the first time with some definite view of turning his knowledge in a professional direction. In entering upon the study of the law, he had doubtlessly been actuated by the motive which had directed him previously, and which continued to be the dream of his whole life, honor among men.

He obtained what books he could in the neighborhood, and John T. Stuart, of Springfield, supplied him with others.

His favorite position in reading was upon his back, with his feet higher than his head. And in this attitude he was often seen by his admiring friends. But wherever he went, or in whatever position he found himself, he had his books with him. His progress was rapid; but all of that, as he said, would not "get a frock for the child," and poverty made his journey to the bar a tedious one, for not until 1837 was he admitted. His practice had, indeed, begun soon after he had fairly settled on his course. He at once became the man of all business to his neighbors. He prepared their contracts, mortgages, deeds, etc., helped the ignorant justice of the peace, and "pettifogged" before "his honor" at every opportunity. But this did not pay his debts or board, as he made no charges and took no fees.

The notorious John Calhoun was then surveyor of Sangamon County. With the rapid settlement of the country his business increased to such an extent as to render an assistant necessary. He had met Lincoln and liked him. And now deeming him the most

suitable person he knew, he sought him out, and asked him to master another science, and he should have all the work he needed while pursuing his legal studies. He furnished Lincoln a work on surveying, and by the aid of the school-master, Minter Graham, he was ready in six weeks to enter upon this really entertaining and valuable pursuit with his patron, Calhoun. He soon had all the work he wanted, and was once more on the easy road to fame. His association with Calhoun was very satisfactory, and although he afterwards met Calhoun in political debate, he always respected him highly for the service he had rendered him, and considered him an able and honest man, which was more than most other people did after his participation in Kansas affairs under Pierce and Buchanan.

Towards the close of 1834 a serious stroke of misfortune apparently befell him in the sale of his horse, saddle, surveyor's compass, etc., for some of his and Berry's old debts. But two of his friends, James Short and William G. Greene, bought in the much needed property, and handed it over to him, enabling him to go on as if nothing had happened. Both of these friends he subsequently paid. A singular thing about this improvident fellow was that in every emergency and at every turn in his career there was always some friend to come forward and do for him just what he most desired. And on the other hand few men were equal to him in expedients, especially in his care of the interests of others. If he demanded and received much of his friends, he was

quick in his disposition to serve them, and did it when he could, even without the asking.

On the 7th of May, 1833, President Jackson actually appointed him postmaster at New Salem. This may be correctly considered one of General Jackson's very best appointments. And it had the rare virtue of being free of partisan character. He had been a strong advocate of Jackson, and even now was very well known to be warm in his attachment to much in the General's public and private conduct. If he were Whiggish, he was also a moderate Jackson man. There was really much more in this matter than the mere fact of his having held office by appointment of General Jackson, although that would render it worthy of notice. He held this distinguished office until New Salem ceased to be of importance enough to have a post-office, in the winter of 1836.

While it is probable that he did all the business connected with the office in the store of one of his friends, it is said, on very good authority, that he carried the mail matter belonging to the place in his hat a great part of the time. And, consequently, wherever he went he took the post-office with him. The office paid nothing; at all events, not enough to pay for a house to keep it in. The mail only arrived and departed once a week, and Lincoln had no difficulty in depositing the remains of uncalled-for mail in his pockets, and nobody raised any objection to this movable post-office, so long as it was "Honest Abe." He managed, too, to render himself very

agreeable and useful in the discharge of his "official duties." Those who could not read the letters they received he read for them. He also found the place of some benefit to him in furnishing him an opportunity to read the few newspapers received. These he is said to have devoured with great avidity. But his habit of carrying the mail in his hat gave rise to some amusement which he enjoyed as well as anybody, although it was generally at his expense. The fun was not always on one side, however. Lamont tells of an ignorant, proud old man by the name of Johnson who could not read, and who hardly ever got a letter, but who considered it funny and smart to ask Postmaster Lincoln several times a day if there was "anything in the office for him." Lincoln finally concluded to put a stop to this thing, and for that purpose wrote a letter to Johnson purporting to come from some negro woman in Kentucky, representing Johnson as her "fellow," and after telling him a great many nice things, ended by asking him to come over soon again, and assuring him that there was now no danger of the old "mass" kicking him out of the kitchen. This letter the old man received out of "the office" in due time, opened it and appeared to read it with great satisfaction. But the fact was, he was unable to read, and after turning it over to several neighbors who appeared utterly amazed with its contents, and although they all read it the same way, he was dissatisfied with the result, and believed they had not read it correctly. He finally determined to have "Honest Abe" read it.

With some effort Lincoln succeeded in suppressing his feelings sufficiently to read the letter, but made it out the same as the others had done. This was the end of his trouble with Mr. Elmore Johnson. He asked no more if there was "anything in the office" for him.

All this time Lincoln continued surveying, settling disputes about lines and corners, titles and deeds, pettifogging, studying law, and making himself agreeable and useful. His reading at this period was by no means confined to the law. He was omnivorous in this respect. And some of his reading was wretchedly mean. He studied several of the sciences to some extent, and read history, such as Gibbon's "Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire," "Rollin," etc. He also read all the novels he could get, and immensely preferred vulgar trash, and especially ridiculous, disgusting, and foolish stories, like "Becky Wilson's Courtship," and "Cousin Sally Dillard." He also continued the vulgar ballad business in which he had engaged in Indiana.

But all of these bad things were trifling in their influence, as great as that must have been, compared with another line of reading which he began at this time. This consisted of what are called the writings of Shakespeare, the vulgar and immoral poetry of Robert Burns, and the utterly despicable works of the libidinous, immoral, and vicious Tom Paine, two of whose last literary efforts were assaults upon religion and morality, and a scandalous attack upon the character of General Washington. At this time this

strange and unpolished man is also said to have fallen in love eternally with one of the works, if not also the character of, Constantine Francis Volney, a man of vicious and immoral character, who, like many of his countrymen of similarly disreputable opinions and practices, disgraced the United States by his presence in it. While here his notable performance was the holding of a discussion on the origin of Christianity with the notorious "Rev." Joseph Priestley, who also retreated to this unfortunate country for an asylum. To this kind of reading Lincoln was led, to a great extent, by his associates. Not by such friends as Jack Armstrong and old Hannah, of course; for as bad as they were, they had no books teaching infidelity and immorality; in fact, they had none at all. But the community of New Salem was notably a rough, profane, and irreligious one. Without design, it seemed to be a kind of Dry Tortugas or Botany Bay on the frontier. Considering that it was formed without previous concert, in its general aspect, perhaps, no community in the United States ever bore a lower moral standard. There it neither set a man forward nor backward to be good or bad, to be an infidel or an atheist, to be a wise man or a fool. In naturally a favorable soil, Lincoln here began a course of reading and training which he continued at Springfield, and which fixed his moral standard for life; fixed it low, unalterably low; fixed his religious, or more strictly his irreligious, views, on a similarly low plane, and more firmly established him in the inconsistent, dark super-

stition which enslaved him from the day he began to live, according to his theory of life, until the day of his death.

Under Lincoln the post-office in New Salem "pestered out," as he would have called it, in 1836, and although the name is unfortunately perpetuated in the State in Pike County, the town, made memorable by its association with the history of Lincoln, died out with its post-office, or at any rate, disappeared soon after forever. It was well that it did. Why should so rude and wicked a place ever remain without a hope of regeneration, to stigmatize the history of the moral growth of the race? That there were some good men in that part of Sangamon County, and many with admirable traits, nobody will doubt. Nor is it now proper that any one should suffer himself to be fooled into the belief that Abraham Lincoln did not here, by his daily associations, begin and lay the foundation of an utterly contemptible, and unwise, if not also immoral, philosophy of life, which he continued to build upon under similarly unfortunate associations at Springfield, and which was never modified for the better, except in some small degree by the dark, mischievous, and unmanly spirit of superstition and fatalism, which overshadowed him and his deplorably false ambition of being "Honest Abe," of being just and wise and generous and good, primarily for the esteem of men. That honesty and justice were not in themselves sweet to this strange man, it would, however, be hard to believe. I do not believe it in my most

skeptical moments concerning him. It is good and consolatory to reflect that in his daily, momentary acts and efforts, not policy, but gentle, heartfelt benevolence, love, was the mainspring of the life of Abraham Lincoln, whose memory and deeds must forever fill so wide a niche in the history of his country and his race.

The discussion of his so-called religious views and practices, and his conduct concerning them at New Salem and Springfield, and subsequently, must be left to a future chapter. One thing may here be said as to both New Salem and Springfield, they found in Lincoln a ready pupil, astonishingly ready. As in everything strong and good, he eclipsed his friends and associates, so in impious and irreligious theories and principles he so far outran them as to call out their resistance and restraint. Even New Salem could not uphold his barbaric hand.

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CHAPTER VIII.

HIS FIRST ELECTION BY THE PEOPLE—LINCOLN IN THE
LEGISLATURE—HIS PRINCIPLES AND AMBITION.

AT the August election in 1834 Mr. Lincoln was again a candidate for the lower branch of the Legislature. Although now clearly enough standing with the Whigs, his passion for popular favor and office caused him to make a bargain with the Democrats which secured his election. He made the canvass of the county as he had done before, making short speeches, and taking every means in his way to ingratiate himself with the people; by telling stories, leading by a round or two with the cradle in the harvest-field, by judging fairly between men in fights and disputes, and horses in races, and otherwise as circumstances indicated. He ran "ahead of his ticket," and was this time "triumphantly elected."

Lincoln desired to start in a respectable manner on his political career, and the question now was how to do it. But this man of expedients and debts was not to be balked by a trifling matter of clothes and money. One of his warm, new friends and admirers was Coleman Smoot. Smoot was a prosperous, money-getting man, and to him Lincoln applied at the proper time. He said: "Mr. Smoot, you helped elect me,

and now you must let me have money to buy clothes and to make a decent appearance in the Legislature." This was only a natural and reasonable desire. Any man of ordinary spirit, even if he had been utterly void of political aspirations and schemes for the future, would have desired to appear in a "decent" manner as a member of the first political body of the State. But Mr. Lincoln had no notion of stopping with his present success, and his first appearance was meant to have something to do with many subsequent ones. Smoot's interest in him did not stop at the polls, and even the very demand now made upon him, had, perhaps, occurred to his own mind as possible and necessary. Accordingly he supplied Lincoln with two hundred dollars, the amount deemed sufficient to give him a decent send off, and when the time came Abraham took the inside of the stage and rode in a respectable manner over to Vandalia, then the capital. So far as dress was concerned, it was the first time he had ever made a respectable appearance; and for it all he repaid Smoot every cent according to agreement. Some of Mr. Lincoln's biographers talk of his traveling backward and forward to the sessions of the Legislature on foot. This is probable as to some of his trips, especially in returning home, but it is not true of his first journey from New Salem to Vandalia.

There were two sessions under this term of the Legislature, and Representative Lincoln was present at both, and always in his place. He was put on the Committee of Public Accounts and Expenditures, and

did what was assigned to him faithfully, but he was at this time a silent member. He worked and watched diligently, and looked forward to the no distant future when modesty and inexperience might not be considered impediments.

For the next August election, Mr. Lincoln made his announcement as follows:—

“NEW SALEM, June 13, 1836.

“TO THE EDITOR OF ‘THE JOURNAL:’—

“In your paper of last Saturday, I see a communication over the signature of ‘Many Voters,’ in which the candidates who are announced in the ‘Journal’ are called upon to ‘show their hands.’ Agreed. Here’s mine: I go for all sharing the privileges of the Government who assist in bearing its burdens; consequently, I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms (by no means excluding females).

“If elected I shall consider the whole people of Sangamon my constituents, as well those that oppose as those that support me.

“While acting as their Representative, I shall be governed by their will on all subjects upon which I have the means of knowing what their will is; and upon all others I shall do what my own judgment teaches me will best advance their interests. Whether elected or not, I go for distributing the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to the several States, to enable our State, in common with others, to dig canals and construct railroads without borrowing money and paying interest on it. If alive on the first Monday in November, I shall vote for Hugh L. White for President.

Very respectfully,

“A. LINCOLN.”

Although now openly a Whig, instead of supporting General Harrison, Lincoln was going with the

anti-Jackson Democrats for the election of Hugh Lawson White, who never had a chance for the Presidency. This was an exciting campaign for Mr. Lincoln, and in it he became distinguished as the leader of the "Long Nine;" a distinction which was continued throughout the term of the Legislature, and which arose from the fact that the seven Whig candidates for the Lower Branch, and the two Senators were all six feet or over in height, and Lincoln was the tallest. All of them were elected but one, Sangamon County now for the first time going Whig. Mr. Lincoln also had the gratification of running ahead of his ticket. During this campaign Lincoln had the usual adventures, as queller of disturbances, preventer of general fights, and common pacificator.

After one of his own speeches which had been exceedingly satisfactory to his backers, George Forquer, an enterprising, intelligent man, who had thrown off his Whig coat and put on a Democratic one, and that for an office, it was charged, undertook to answer Mr. Lincoln. He called Lincoln a "young man," and said he would be obliged "to take him down" a little, although he regretted that the task had fallen to him. Besides the turning of his coat, Forquer had committed another sin by building a better house in Springfield than any other man's, and mounting it with the first lightning-rod ever seen in the country. Even among a race of infidels it was considered great wickedness to put up a lightning-rod. And in Lincoln's reply, in which his friends thought he obliterated

poor Forquer, he turned the lightning-rod to account as follows:—

“The gentleman has alluded to my being a young man. I am older in years than I am in the tricks and trades of politicians. I desire to live, and I desire place and distinction as a politician; but I would rather die now, than, like the gentleman, live to see the day that I would have to erect a lightning-rod to protect a guilty conscience from an offended God.”

Abe had not come to electricity yet in his studies, but Forquer's lightning-rod set him about it, and some day he would have missed a thunder-bolt in his speech for the sake of avoiding the ignorance displayed on this occasion. The Legislature of Illinois at this time was noted for the great number of its members who became distinguished in politics and otherwise. Stephen Arnold Douglas took his seat in it in the session of the winter of 1836. At a special session of his former term, Lincoln had seen this sharp little fellow, and when asked what he thought of him he merely said that he was the least man he had ever seen. He was not long in finding that Douglas was a “little giant,” with aspirations like his own, and a disposition to resort to any means to gratify his ambition.

The “Long Nine” had been instructed by their constituents to support a general system of internal improvements for the State in the coming session of the Legislature. There was to be a contest also over the site for the permanent location of the capital, and the Sangamon County delegation was a unit for Spring-

field. The whole State had taken up the internal improvement cry, and among Whig and Democratic politicians there was little contention on this point. Each hoped to be first. Lincoln thought the prospects bright for the realization of his desires. The people wanted railroads and canals, and the improvement of the rivers, and it was a part of his philosophy to believe the people right, and to keep with them was the true road for him. To champion the wish of the people now successfully would make him the De Witt Clinton of the State, he said. And what it should make him was the secret which gave soul to every act then and, to some extent, throughout his public life.

Accordingly a grand system of railroads and river improvements was at once devised; and the banks were made the agents for the vast loans necessary to put the improvements under way. The capital stock of the banks was immensely increased, and other privileges enlarged to favor these always dangerous institutions. Different interests throughout the State were reconciled by various tricks and devices, and some of them by distributing money where other supposed benefits would not be satisfactory. In all of this villainous scheme for involving the State in a debt she subsequently desired to repudiate, Lincoln worked with great zeal. The "Long Nine," John Calhoun, Lincoln's Democratic patron, being one of its members, constituted an almost resistless force in the evil machinations of the time. They were determined to secure the capital for Springfield, no matter

what the State would sacrifice by the change, and one arrangement after another they cunningly secured for the benefit of their purpose. However little can be said in favor of the work done by Mr. Lincoln at this time, his success was very great. In his first term he had been a silent member, now he was one of the most active among the leaders. The two things his constituents wanted were the capital and internal improvements, and he not only believed they were right in these wants, but also that he understood these matters well.

Although Mr. Lincoln only went with the demands of the time, as it was always a part of his philosophy never to do much more, his folly was soon apparent. He was on the Finance Committee, but like most or all other men, he did not understand finance, then or at any subsequent period. His two last terms were spent, to some extent, in vain attempts to undo the evils he had helped to bring upon the State during this service with the "Long Nine."

No part of the country was more excited than Illinois over the great agitation of the slavery question at this time. Both Whigs and Democrats were loud in their cry against Abolitionists. An Abolitionist was considered morally, and before the law, a "thief and a beast," in Illinois in 1837, and the Democracy especially were rank in their devotion to the "institution." Slaves were even found, as such, in the southern part of the State. The institution was nourished there as fondly as it was on the other side of the Ohio. Still there were Abolitionists, and some

of them were spirited people. In 1835 began the troubles with the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, who first published an anti-slavery newspaper in St. Louis, and then in Alton, Illinois, a place which proved to be more radically pro-slavery than St. Louis, and where Lovejoy was shot and killed while defending himself and his property, on the night of the 7th of November, 1837.

Illinois already stood at the head of the Free States in the folly and utter infamy of her "black code," but at this juncture the Legislature passed sundry resolutions, further strengthening the pro-slavery position of the State, and in harmony with the demands of the South. And now it was that Lincoln came forward in the first act of his life in opposition to the apparent will of the people, and in the inauguration of the course in his own career, which was destined to perpetuate his name through all time, and fix it eternally in the temple of fame as the Great American Liberator. Mr. Lincoln wrote the following protest, and succeeded in getting one of his colleagues to sign it, and it was duly entered on the "House Journal," against the extreme pro-slavery resolutions:—

"MARCH 3, 1837.

"The following protest was presented to the House, which was read and ordered to be spread on the journal, to wit:—

"Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly, at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

“They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on *both injustice and bad policy*; but that the promulgation of Abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

“They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

“They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of said District.

“The difference between these opinions and those contained in the said resolutions, is their reason for entering this protest.

DAN STONE,

“A. LINCOLN,

“Representatives from the County of Sangamon.”

Two or three things are fully seen in this simple protest, which is altogether one of the most brave and remarkable papers written in the first half of this century by an American politician. On both injustice and bad policy Mr. Lincoln declares slavery to be founded. This was the first article in his creed which denoted his ability to stand above mere human applause. He never departed from this principle, which was his first public step on the road to fame and martyrdom.

“The promulgation of Abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate the evils of slavery.” Until after the beginning of the War of the Rebellion he adhered to this utterance. He opposed the methods of the Abolitionists, and never was one in the sense in which the term was understood. He

was unfriendly to the Lovejoys and others of that class, and never at any time countenanced their plans and acts. In the campaign of 1860 his friends brought forward this protest to refute the charge of Abolitionist constantly made against him by the Democrats. In this they considered themselves successful, and so they were, as to the common so-esteemed offensiveness of the term. Yet this defense rested on merely technical grounds. Still the South, while knowing Mr. Lincoln to be an enemy of slavery, also believed that his influence would only be felt in preventing its spread in the Territories, and in Constitutional ways, providing for its ultimate extinction, not in the violent modes advocated by the Abolitionists.

With a step in advance of the Whigs, he believed that Congress had the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and yet so mild was he that the exercise of this power was held as depending on the desire of its citizens. From the language and spirit of this protest Mr. Lincoln never departed until the war forced him to do so, or gave him the right to do so; and from him the South never had anything to fear. This brave and manly paper was Mr. Lincoln's own appeal from his announced ambition for human applause. At that day it would have required more than human wisdom to see that this very act was the first round in the ladder of undying fame. I do not attempt to reconcile this act with Mr. Lincoln's avowed ambition to gain human esteem above all things, in any other way than I have on a preceding page.

The admirable and lofty phases of his character glimpsed at in this protest will be more fully, and often illustrated as events thicken around him. And then at every turn I shall not neglect to honor the man in his good deed or well-meant word.

There is not the slightest evidence that Mr. Lincoln, with all his fatalistic superstition, had at this date the least glimmer of a notion that he would become the great champion of liberty, and the instrument through which human slavery should be overthrown on the continent. That he was the bitter enemy of slavery, with all his well-known tenderness for the weak and the oppressed, few even of his friends knew, perhaps.

“There it was, we saw negroes chained maltreated, whipped, and scourged. Lincoln saw it; his heart bled, said nothing much, was silent from feeling, was sad, looked bad, felt bad, was thoughtful and abstracted. I can say, knowing it, that it was on this trip that he formed his opinions of slavery. It ran its iron in him then and there, May, 1831. I have heard him say so often and often.”

So wrote old John Hanks of the trip to New Orleans with Denton Offutt. And as far as this statement goes, it must be taken for true. Lincoln could never bear the sight of tyranny or abuse of any kind. The least of all living creatures had his sympathy in moments of distress. Life and liberty, to use it freely and with delight, and with freedom from abuse, he held to be as sweet to the least things as to the greatest. And how could a man so organized ever be a friend to human slavery?

In 1838 Mr. Lincoln was again elected to the Legislature, and was the choice of his party for Speaker of the House. But he was defeated for this place by one vote by W. L. D. Ewing, the Democrat. Lincoln's greed for popular favor had previously led him to court the smiles and aid of the Democracy. It warped his judgment. It was a mistake to attempt peddling between these parties, or carrying them both on his shoulders. Many a poor fellow in hope of gain has done the same thing. He was no Washington, nor did he live in the age of Washington. He must be a man of some party or he must let politics alone. This he at last saw, and long before the Presidential election in 1840 he was no "dough-face;" he was a straight Whig, and as much of a hurrah man for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," as anybody else. From this time forward his course was straight, and his progress constant.

In 1840 Lincoln was re-elected to the Legislature, and was again candidate of the Whigs for Speaker with the same result as before. During the latter part of this term he did not appear in the Legislature, owing to some crazy love affairs, and spent most of his time down in Kentucky with his friend, Joshua F. Speed. Mr. Lincoln's love affairs were of a rather painful, disagreeable, and unworthy character, but will be fully exposed in the proper place.

CHAPTER IX.

LINCOLN IN HIS PROFESSION—THE QUESTION OF GREATNESS—WAS HE A GREAT LAWYER?

IN the winter of 1836 Lincoln got his license as a lawyer, and in March or April, 1837, settled at Springfield, to enter upon the practice of a poorly acquired profession. He had several good reasons for locating at Springfield. John T. Stuart, long his friend, an able and properous man, offered him a partnership in his business. This offer he wisely accepted, although his connection with Stuart was not permanent, or of great value, perhaps, on account of the political employments of the latter. Yet it served to give him a fair start in a pursuit in which he certainly had no reputation then. Springfield was the capital of Sangamon County, and would soon be, of the State, thus rendering it the most desirable location for an ambitious lawyer. Then, too, Mr. Lincoln was not only a member of the Legislature at that time, but he was also willing to continue in that body until something occurred to lift him up higher. And in Springfield he could attend the sessions of the Legislature without very serious hindrance to his profession.

He boarded for several years in the family of

William Butler, one of his warm friends, and it is said that Butler not only fed but also clothed him for a considerable time, and, besides, seemed to have little or no concern as to any expense he incurred on his account. Mr. Butler was, no doubt, purely disinterested and sincere in his generous conduct with Lincoln. He was one of those who considered Lincoln a rising man, and, perhaps, thought the day might come when his assistance would materially advance his own interests. In this kind of calculation all Mr. Lincoln's friends were mistaken, and none of them much more than Butler, if he ever indulged in it. For Lincoln entertained the belief that he had no right to speculate in, or apportion among his friends the supposed privileges and patronage of any public office. And as the office became higher in the public estimation, the less right and proper did he consider it for him to distinguish between friend and foe. As a politician and party man he could not be guided by this principle, but among his personal friends he adhered to it with great pertinacity. This trait was not at all in harmony with his inordinate ambition for political place and distinction. It argued for him vastly more than did his theory, as will be seen in the proper place. Though Mr. Lincoln was at times a very hot partisan apparently, he was really unable to maintain such a position. His disposition was, undoubtedly, to stand among the people and be for them all. Leaving out of consideration his purpose of self-advancement, this disposition was worthy of all praise, however utterly

impossible it might be to carry it out amidst partisan organizations of society.

Lincoln thought himself that "the law" was the road to both profit and honor, and in it he was now fairly launched. "The office" of Stuart and Lincoln was on the second floor in Hoffman's Row, over the court-room, and was a dirty little place, with a poor, dirty bed, on which Lincoln slept, besides a few other necessary articles of furniture. But this was characteristic of lawyers' offices at that day, and Lincoln evidently had quite a lofty view of himself and his prospects. For he seemed to drop for a time, or attempted to drop, his simple, direct, and forcible style of speaking, and to substitute a sort of hollow elegance that did not suit him in any sense.

About the time of locating in Springfield he delivered before the "Lyceum" there an address on the "Perpetuation of our Free Institutions." This was written in the true "spread-eagle" style and was very disgusting, especially for Abraham Lincoln.

The following extract will show its character:—

"Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasures of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not, by force, take a drink from the Ohio, or make a track on the Blue Ridge, in a trial of a thousand years."

This boyish folly was received with great applause, but Lincoln must have been ashamed of it himself, as he made few attempts to repeat such drivel, and

soon settled into the strong, plain, characteristic way of speaking which distinguished him.

In his first case at Springfield Mr. Lincoln failed. This may be regarded as his first legal case, although he had hardly read his first law-book before he began pettifogging at New Salem. Nothing more is known of this first case of Mr. Lincoln's than that it was dismissed at the cost of his client, and may or may not have been undertaken through an erroneous judgment of his.

In 1839 the State Capital was moved to Springfield, and in December the Legislature began its first session there. With this, his law practice and studies, and political speeches, quarrels, etc., Lincoln was busy enough. And the supreme thought that animated him at every step was distinction. This was the theme of his dreams by day and night to the end of his life. Every success only served to confirm him in his ambitious hopes. And even his failures inspired him to new and determined efforts. With all his historic modesty and diffidence, he never ceased to believe and act upon the supposition that he could eventually accomplish his purposes.

It is told that in 1840, in making a reply to an attack Mr. Douglas had made on the Whigs, he fell below the requirements of the case, and was himself so vexed that he asked to be tried again. His second effort was very satisfactory, and his friends held that from that time on they were never disappointed in him. In the winter of 1839 he stood on the Whig side in a debate between Douglas and others on the

national bank and sub-treasury issue of the time. This took place in one of the Springfield churches, and was of no general consequence. His speech on the occasion was regarded as very able, and was perhaps, considering his age and opportunities, but it was on the high-sounding, grandiloquent, hollow style, and so unlike his riper and better subsequent efforts and character, that I see nothing worthy of mention in it. The mere fact of its publication in "The Sangamon Journal" was nothing especial in its favor. Mr. Lincoln was still in the boyhood of his speech-making.

He was a candidate for Whig elector in 1840, and made speeches in different parts of the State for Harrison. Even at this time he showed his indisposition to discuss public issues alone. His delight was to stand face to face with the champion of the other side. And whether he quietly esteemed himself so highly or not, he never cared to be placed against little "guns," but preferred to contend directly with the most skillful and cunning in the enemy's camp.

In 1843 he was a candidate for the nomination in his district for Congress, but he was greatly hurt to find his popularity somewhat dimmed at this time, and reluctantly withdrew to favor E. D. Baker. If Lincoln was generally or at all unselfish, it hurt him to be so more in political matters than anything else. That was his road to fame, and he did not want to be pushed out of it by other aspirants. "Honor" he craved, and was determined to have it.

In the fall of 1842 he was married, and his mar-

riage had temporarily put him under a cloud socially and politically. He had married a proud Southern woman, and his hard-fisted, plain old friends believed he was putting on aristocratic airs. His supposed irreligious views were also operating against him to some extent, as Springfield, unlike New Salem, had some likes and dislikes on this subject. The following letter which is taken from Lamon, and addressed by Mr. Lincoln to Martin M. Morris, of Petersburg, Illinois, shows clearly enough that although he was now pledged to go for Baker in the convention, he had no design of doing it as long as there was the least hope for himself:—

“SPRINGFIELD, ILL., March 26, 1843.

“FRIEND MORRIS,—Your letter of the 23d was received on yesterday morning, and for which (instead of an excuse which you thought proper to ask) I tender you my sincere thanks. It is truly gratifying to me to learn, that, while the people of Sangamon have cast me off, my old friends of Menard, who have known me longest and best, stick to me. It would astonish, if not amuse, the older citizens (a stranger, friendless, uneducated, penniless boy, working on a flat-boat at ten dollars per month) to learn that I have been put down here as the candidate of pride, wealth, and aristocratic family distinction. Yet so, chiefly, it was. There was, too, the strangest combinations of Church influences against me. Baker is a Campbellite; and therefore, as I suppose, with few exceptions, got all that Church.

“My wife has some relations in the Presbyterian Churches, and some with the Episcopal Churches; and therefore, wherever it would tell, I was set down as either the one or the other, while it was everywhere contended

that no Christian ought to go for me, because I belonged to no Church, was suspected of being a deist, and had talked about fighting a duel. With all these things, Baker, of course, had nothing to do. Nor do I complain of them. As to his own Church going for him, I think that was right enough; and as to the influences I have spoken of in the other, though they were very strong, it would be grossly untrue and unjust to charge that they acted upon them in a body, or were very near so. I only mean that those influences levied a tax of a considerable per cent upon my strength throughout the religious controversy. But enough of this.

“ You say that in choosing a candidate for Congress, you have an equal right with Sangamon; and in this you are undoubtedly earnest. In agreeing to withdraw if the Whigs of Sangamon should go against me, I did not mean that they alone were worth consulting, but that if she, with her heavy delegation should be against me, it would be impossible for me to succeed, and therefore I had as well decline. And in relation to Menard having rights, permit me fully to recognize them, and to express the opinion that if she and Mason act circumspectly they will in the convention be able so far to enforce their rights as to decide absolutely which one of the candidates shall be successful. Let me show the reason of this. Hardin, or some other Morgan candidate, will get Putnam, Marshall, Woodford, Tazewell, and Logan—make sixteen. Then you and Mason, having three, can give the victory to either side.

“ You say you will instruct your delegates for me, unless I object. I certainly shall not object. That would be too pleasant a compliment for me to tread in the dust. And besides, if anything should happen (which, however, is not probable) by which Baker should be thrown out of the fight, I would be at liberty to accept the nomination, if I could get it. I do, however, feel myself bound not to

hinder him in any way from getting the nomination. I should despise myself were I to attempt it. I think, then, it would be proper for your meeting to appoint three delegates, and to instruct them to go for some one as a first choice, some one else as a second, and perhaps some one as a third; and, if in those instructions, I were named as the first choice, it would gratify me very much.

"If you wish to hold the balance of power, it is important for you to attend to and secure the vote of Mason also. You should be sure to have men appointed delegates that you know you can safely confide in. If yourself and James Short were appointed for your county, all would be safe; but whether Jim's woman affair a year ago might not be in the way of his appointment is a question. I don't know whether you know it, but I know him to be as honorable a man as there is in the world. You have my permission, and even request, to show this letter to Short, but to no one else, unless it be a very particular friend, who you know will not speak of it.

"Yours, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

"P. S.—Will you write me again?"

Any one who does not read this letter will fail to see that Lincoln even then was a right fully developed wire-working politician. This letter has the "let me" air of the smooth-tongued seeker of public favors.

On the 27th of April, 1837, Mr. Lincoln began his law partnership in Springfield with John T. Stuart, and this relation was continued until the 14th of April, 1841. He then formed a partnership with Stephen T. Logan, which lasted into the year 1845. From this time till his election to the Presidency, William H. Herndon was his law partner. Herndon

was a young man, and Lincoln was led to believe that he would supply a place in his affairs very greatly needed, a talent for keeping things in order, and making and saving money. But in this he was deceived, although he thought, if he had missed a financier, he had really found a good lawyer. Herndon was a man of extravagant ways and views, and his influence for good on Mr. Lincoln was quite doubtful, to say the least. Still Mr. Herndon "thought more of him" than any other man ever did, unless it was Joshua F. Speed. Perhaps he knew him better, too, better even than Speed. He thoroughly understood his moods, and, without explanation between them, he comprehended the domestic and other sorrows of his life. His tender feelings for and great esteem for Lincoln induced him to watch with care the rising and falling of his spiritual thermometer, and his own conduct toward this strange man of fancied sorrows was shaped accordingly. And although Mr. Lincoln had great confidence in him, and trusted him, and fully knew of his devotion, his secrets and sorrows he never placed in his keeping. Of that kind of intimacy he had no friends, save, perhaps, Speed. Neither of his other partners took such interest in him as Herndon, nor labored as he did to understand him. It was Herndon's pride. And, in fact, as fair a lawyer as he was, like Minter Graham, old John Hanks, and several others, Mr. Herndon comes, to any extent, into the history of this country only by his association with Lincoln.

Judge David Davis, long a personal friend of

Mr. Lincoln, gave the following picture of him as a lawyer :—

“ I enjoyed for over twenty years the personal friendship of Mr. Lincoln. We were admitted to the bar about the same time, and traveled for many years what is known in Illinois as the Eighth Judicial Circuit. In 1848, when I first went on the bench, the circuit embraced fourteen counties, and Mr. Lincoln went with the court to every county. Railroads were not then in use, and our mode of travel was either on horseback or in buggies.

“ This simple life he loved, preferring it to the practice of the law in a city, where, although the remuneration would be greater, the opportunity would be less for mixing with the great body of the people who loved him and whom he loved. Mr. Lincoln was transferred from the bar of that circuit to the office of President of the United States, having been without official position since he left Congress in 1849. In all the elements that constitute the great lawyer he had few equals. He was great both at *nisi prius* and before an appellate tribunal. He seized the strong points of a case, and presented them with clearness and great compactness. His mind was logical and direct, and he did not indulge in extraneous discussion. Generalities and platitudes had no charms for him. An unfailing vein of humor never deserted him, and he was always able to chain the attention of court and jury when the cause was the most uninteresting, by the appropriateness of his anecdotes.

“ His power of comparison was large, and he rarely failed in a legal discussion to use that mode of reasoning. The framework of his mental and moral being was honesty, and a wrong cause was poorly defended by him. The ability which some eminent lawyers possess of explaining away the bad points of a cause by ingenious sophistry, was denied him. In order to bring into full activity his great

powers, it was necessary that he should be convinced of the right and justice of the matter which he advocated. When so convinced, whether the cause was great or small, he was usually successful. He read law books but little, except when the cause in hand made it necessary, yet he was usually self-reliant, depending on his own resources, and rarely consulting his brother lawyers either on the management of his case or on the legal questions involved.

“Mr. Lincoln was the fairest and most accommodating of practitioners, granting all favors which he could do consistently with his duty to his client, and rarely availing himself of an unwary oversight of his adversary.

“He hated wrong and oppression everywhere, and many a man, whose fraudulent conduct was undergoing review in a court of justice has writhed under his terrific indignation and rebukes. He was the most simple and unostentatious of men in his habits, having few wants and those easily supplied. To his honor be it said, that he never took from a client, even when the cause was gained, more than he thought the service was worth and the client could reasonably afford to pay. The people where he practiced law were not rich, and his charges were always small.

“When he was elected President, I question whether there was a lawyer in the circuit who had been at the bar as long a time whose means were not larger. It did not seem to be one of the purposes of his life to accumulate a fortune. In fact, outside of his profession, he had no knowledge of the way to make money, and he never even attempted it.

“Mr. Lincoln was loved by his brethren of the bar, and no body of men will grieve more at his death, or pay more sincere tributes to his memory. His presence on the circuit was watched for with interest, and never failed to produce joy and hilarity. When casually absent, the spirits of both bar and people were depressed. He was

not fond of controversy, and would compromise a lawsuit whenever practicable."

This, like the great mass of eulogiums passed upon Mr. Lincoln, was made when the public mind was intensely excited over his death, when all his deeds and everything pertaining to his life were colored and exaggerated in the fervid feelings of the times. For years subsequently to the sad termination of his interesting career, it was as little as any man could do to talk extravagantly of Abraham Lincoln; it would have been worth a man's head to have done otherwise in many parts of the North. That period has passed away; and even men who participated in the extreme laudations of the times may look back upon them from the present in silence, if not in shame.

But many volumes could be filled with the good things said about Mr. Lincoln as a lawyer in the first six months after his death; yet perhaps, few intelligent men ever believed that he was a great lawyer. According to the standard reared in this work it is utterly out of the question to place Mr. Lincoln in that category. Judge Davis says that "in all the elements that constitute a great lawyer, he had few equals." And I think that in all that period when men's hearts and sympathies ran away with their judgment and reason, no more doubtful or careless utterance was made of Abraham Lincoln than this. In the first place, he was neither a practical Christian nor a Christian philosopher, and, as I hold, there can be no such thing as a great lawyer without this to

start on. His education was entirely too limited for a great lawyer. He was not generally well enough read to be a great lawyer. He was not well enough read as a lawyer to be great. His manners were against him as a great lawyer. His story-telling habits were also against him as a great lawyer. And his utter want of system and order in his own business, his want of a correct knowledge of business in general, and his utter inability to direct wisely the business of his client, lifted him entirely out of the class of great lawyers. He was successful in his appeals to men, and was, doubtless, a great jury lawyer. On this point there need be no question. In his direct and manly methods of speaking and conducting his cases he was great. In his management he was only skillful, but he was never cunning in the evil sense sometimes charged against him. In his simple and direct language, and his happy way of speaking he was great. But this trait applied to his political as well as his law side.

In honesty Mr. Lincoln was above the profession, perhaps, and in that particular was great. In many respects he was a good lawyer, and in most he was reliable. But it was in his aspect as a politician that he shone most, and there lay his ambition. The law brought him bread, and was simply his instrument. He took a secret pride in his influence over men as a lawyer, but there is no evidence to show that he considered himself great in this learned profession. As a "case-lawyer" he was excellent, and here he stopped. As a judge of right and wrong between

men, he seldom erred, and here his intuitions were great. He was cautious in giving advice, and generally appeared to advantage as conscientious. He seldom took the wrong side of a cause, and if he did was comparatively worthless in it. He was always on the charitable side in making fees, and often refused to take any, or to share in such as he felt were got in an unjust or doubtful case. He was always ready to be a friend to the oppressed or the distressed. He seldom advised a suit when a settlement was at all probable, or tolerated one that he believed to be unjust.

In December, 1839, he was admitted to practice in the United States Circuit Court. It is said that he absolutely dumfounded the judge and lawyers with the following speech in his first case in the Supreme Court of the State:—

“This is the first case I have ever had in this court, and I have therefore examined it with great care. As the Court will perceive, by looking at the abstract of the record, the only question in the case is one of authority. I have not been able to find any authority sustaining my side of the case, but I have found several cases directly in point on the other side. I will now give these cases, and then submit the case.”

It was not unusual for him to tell a man seeking his services that it was useless to waste any money on him as an attorney in the case, as he believed it to be wrong, and he would be beaten. He was, perhaps, conscientious in his passion for fair play. He had generally applied the principle as a fighter and

wrestler, and in his law practice he never swerved from it, even taking from his client what he deemed necessary to restore justice on the other side. Of him one of his legal friends gave this testimony :—

“ He was not only morally honest, but intellectually so. He could not reason falsely. If he attempted it, he failed. In politics he never would try to mislead. At the bar, when he thought he was wrong, he was the weakest lawyer I ever saw.”

He knew very little of legal technical rules, and despised them. He deemed them modes of misleading and getting away from what he thought the law meant, and what he wanted, justice. William H. Herndon, Mr. Lamon says, considered this a great defect in Lincoln. But this would not be the verdict outside of the legal profession, perhaps.

In the spring of 1858 the son of Jack and Hannah Armstrong was tried for murder at Beardstown and acquitted by the influence of Mr. Lincoln on the jury. The murder had been perpetrated by Armstrong and another young man on a night of the summer of 1857. Old Jack was dead, and Hannah did not appeal to Lincoln in vain. He perhaps believed her son was guilty, but he could not forget that Jack was gone, and that both he and the old wife had been more than Samaritans to him. Mr. Lincoln was present when the trial came on, and had the closing argument for the defense. The evidence was plain enough against Armstrong, but Lincoln had discovered a point which had been overlooked in the trial of his accomplice,

who had been convicted. The main witness had stated that the moon was nearly full, and was about in the heavens where the sun would be at ten o'clock in the day, and hence it was easy for him to see who did the deed. Lincoln's purpose was to prove that there was no moon on that night at the time of the murder, and thus destroy the State's evidence. He was prepared to take this turn in the case, and after attempting to break down the evidence, and referring in regular quack style to the service the old woman had rendered him in his day of need, and described his rocking that very boy, and holding him on his knee, and having wrought the feelings of the jury up to the highest pitch, he called for or drew from his pocket the almanac and showed conclusively and easily that at the time the witness declared the murder was committed there was no moon at all. This instantly changed the whole complexion of the case, and the boy was acquitted.

This case has been repeated all over the country, and by many mainly to show the trick Mr. Lincoln practiced in it. It was claimed, and is yet so claimed, that Lincoln had discovered that by using the almanac for 1856, the year before the murder, it would be very true that the moon was not shining, that there was no moon at the time specified on the night of the 29th of August, and that he believed or hoped he would be able to carry out this sharp trick without being detected by judge or jury. One of the attorneys in the prosecution subsequently declared that Mr. Lincoln was innocent of any intention to deceive,

and had merely taken the almanac for the year preceding the murder without knowing that he did so. And one of the jurors is represented as offering to testify that he examined the almanac, and that it was the one for 1857, the right year.

Mr. Lincoln shed tears over his success in this case, and even then he did not think he had done enough for old Hannah.

Her wicked son enlisted in the army, and he had not been there long until his old mother wrote to the President simply saying that she wanted William, and Mr. Lincoln had the fellow discharged, and notified her that her want was gratified.

Mr. Lincoln's largest fee amounted to five thousand dollars. This was for his services as attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad. But the company considered his charges too large, and he had to sue, but the suit was decided in his favor. His legal practice did not arise to that celebrity to call him out of his State much, or even out of the two circuits in which he traveled. He was sent to Cincinnati in 1859 to appear in a case for the McCormick reaper, but he did not remain, owing to the ill-treatment he received from one of the attorneys in the case, said to have been Edwin M. Stanton.

Mr. Lincoln rode the circuit first on a borrowed horse, then on his own, and subsequently in a gig or old buggy. Most of the time he carried a great part of his library with him. The books used on his numerous journeys were not generally law-books. They were often school-books of all classes. The

grammar was usually one of them. He carried poetic works suited to his fancy, and often he would recite page after page of Shakespeare to any willing ear. He greatly enjoyed these trips over the country. He told his stories, and in many ways made the people, great and small, glad to see him coming. As he rode along it was often his mood when he saw men chopping or at work in the field to hitch his horse and try his hand at the ax or cradle with results very amazing to any new friend thus secured. It is said that in these trips he often lingered longer than necessary, preferring this independent and careless life to what he seemed to hold as one of doubtful congeniality at home. He considered himself a martyr to a matrimonial misfortune, and this was one of his ways of making the most of it. When he returned from Congress in 1849, he was invited to remove to Chicago to engage in his profession, but this he declined on the ground that he was tending towards consumption, and needed the kind of life he pursued in the country.

I have, to a limited extent, fallen into the common way of magnifying little incidents in the life of Mr. Lincoln, and representing as peculiar, characteristic, and especially praiseworthy, or as pointing to a unique and admirable character, things and traits quite common among men. Throughout this entire work I have never lost sight of the critical weakness of such a course, and have often enough intimated this fact; still I have not seen fit to ignore the usual practice of biographers, and a thing expected by the

average reader. I have, therefore, selected, here and there, the accepted stories and illustrations to display points of character. And while it is generally true that the things cited did really subserve the purpose in view, establishing beyond a doubt the existence of the good, bad, or admirable traits in the person, most of them have been such as were equally applicable to other men. The fact is, the Presidents of the United States have not been a peculiar race of men. They have been taken in a wonderful, republican diversity of circumstances from among the people, and sometimes with no especial fitness for the position. They have simply been like other people. And the instances of noteworthy events found and taken to illustrate and distinguish their characters, are applicable to the great mass of their countrymen, and in appropriate circumstances would be applied to them as well. With the exception of the first President, and two or three soldiers who have become Presidents, all of our Presidents have been politicians merely, if Mr. Madison and the Adamases may be omitted from this class, and politicians aim to stand with "the people" and be like them. From the social and mental peculiarities of his nation and times, no man need to look for escape. He must partake, more or less, of them all, even though he should not suspect it.

This chapter may now be closed by the following story from one of Lamon's authorities :—

"In 1855 Mr. Lincoln and myself were traveling by buggy from Woodford County Court to Bloomington, Illi-

nois; and in passing through a little grove, we suddenly heard the terrific squealing of a little pig near by us. Quick as thought Mr. Lincoln leaped out of the buggy, seized a club, pounced upon the old sow, and beat her lustily. She was in the act of eating one of her young ones. Thus he saved the pig, and then remarked, 'By jing! the unnatural old brute shall not devour her own progeny!' This, I think, was his first proclamation of freedom."

CHAPTER X.

MR. LINCOLN IN CONGRESS—STILL CLIMBING UP—BUT NOT SATISFIED.

THE sly hope of Mr. Lincoln for his nomination for Congress in 1842 was not realized, and John J. Hardin was the choice of the convention. In 1844 Baker succeeded Hardin. But Mr. Lincoln was Whig candidate for Presidential elector this year, and very greatly increased his reputation as a political speaker, in canvassing the State for Clay. He considered Mr. Clay one of the most able and sound of all American politicians.

Dr. Holland says that Mr. Lincoln made a trip to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1846 to pay his respects to Mr. Clay, who was his model, and to hear him speak on gradual emancipation, and was greatly disappointed in the man and the speech. If Dr. Holland is not mistaken about this event entirely, it was certainly a remarkable performance for Mr. Lincoln. He had never until 1844 been in favor of Mr. Clay, and in 1848 he strongly supported the nomination of General Taylor. Mr. Lincoln was not warm in his attachments, political or otherwise, and it would have been a singular sight to behold him traveling hundreds of miles for such a purpose. After the death of Mr. Clay, Lincoln was invited by citizens

of Springfield, to deliver an address or oration on the life and character of Clay. This he did on the 16th of July, 1852, but his friends thought he fell below himself and his subject very greatly. If he had any fitness for such speeches, which is very doubtful, he displayed no enthusiasm on this occasion. If Mr. Clay had ever been his model, that time had passed away. He had no model on the earth at least.

A warm contest took place between Hardin and Lincoln in 1846 for the Whig nomination for Congress, and Mr. Lincoln's irreligious standing was again thoroughly overhauled. But Hardin withdrew at the last hour, and Lincoln was nominated and elected. The campaign that followed his nomination was a peculiarly interesting one. Strangely enough the Democrats nominated old Peter Cartwright, the famous, eccentric, and pugnacious Methodist preacher, as Lincoln's opponent. If Lincoln was vulnerable in his religion, Peter had in him many salient points, and while he had been an especial admirer and patron of rough and original manners, Lincoln must have had in him a shining mark for his piercing sarcasm and ridicule. But Peter was not equal to Lincoln in political affairs, and many of his Church friends and Democrats thought he had stepped entirely out of his proper sphere, and opposed him in the convention and at the polls. And Lincoln had learned even at New Salem that he must leave his more than doubtful religion out of politics and public affairs. And with this salutary lesson came the conviction that his road to success must have two things

on its surface at least, a seeming acquiescence in Christian practices, and the semblance of Christianity in himself. Poor old Peter was badly beaten, which he richly deserved to be, no doubt, for his own if not also his country's good, and this was, perhaps, the first and the last time he ever stepped out into this uncertain field, with the hope of gratifying an itching for fame, which was wholly inconsistent with his calling and precepts.

Mr. Lincoln did not feel especially elated over his success. His election to Congress he had greatly desired. He regarded it as a necessary and desirable step on the ladder, but when he had made it, he wanted to take the next. Then, too, it was especially his nature to "collapse" after a success, as well as after a failure. He then began to count the cost, responsibilities and probabilities, and—to dream.

On the 6th of December, 1847, when Congress organized, Mr. Lincoln was in his seat, the only Whig from his State. Stephen A. Douglas at this juncture for the first time made his appearance in the Senate, always along with Lincoln or a little ahead of him. Mr. Lincoln set out at once with his usual ambition to be famous. Before a week he wrote home to Herndon that since his friends were anxious about his distinguishing himself, he had determined to do so soon. But in this matter he did not keep pace with his own or his friends' desires. Although he did some characteristic things, there was nothing brilliant in his Congressional history, nor was his conduct very satisfactory to his friends,

in some respects. Of his first speech he wrote, January 8, 1848, to "Dear William," his partner:—

"As to speech-making, by way of getting the hang of the House, I made a little speech two or three days ago, on a post-office question of no general interest. I find speaking here and elsewhere about the same thing. I was about as badly scared, and no worse, as I am when I speak in court. I expect to make one within a week or two, in which I hope to succeed well enough to wish you to see it."

Speech-making has always been deemed the royal road to success in Congress. According to it men were estimated at home. Mr. Lincoln was anxious to get forward in this way, and a few of his friends, like Herndon, were whipping him up. And with all his early fondness for speaking, and his very considerable experience in that way, he now reports that it scared him. Perhaps, like many others, Mr. Lincoln never outlived this feeling of timidity and weakness in his appearance before an audience, until he became warmed and interested in his work. This feeling is often apparent with men of ability as speakers, or of great versatility and scope of knowledge and fine conversational faculty, merely in the utterance of a sentence, or a compliment in the presence of a few individuals, and in any position. In this respect it was sometimes embarrassing to Mr. Lincoln, and few sensitive natures have not been annoyed or shamed by it in some form. For it there is but one sure remedy, constant and variable social friction. On the 22d of December, 1847, Mr. Lincoln

introduced these resolutions, which subsequently gave him some annoyance at home :—

“WHEREAS, The President of the United States, in his message of May 11, 1846, has declared that ‘the Mexican government not only refused to receive him (the envoy of the United States) or listen to his propositions; but, after a long-continued series of menaces, has at last invaded *our territory*, and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on *our own soil*;’

“And again, in his message of December 8, 1846, that ‘We had ample cause of war against Mexico long before the breaking out of hostilities; but even then we forbore to take redress into our own hands until Mexico herself became the aggressor, by invading *our soil* in hostile array, and shedding the blood of our citizens;’

“And yet again, in his message of December 7, 1847, that ‘The Mexican government refused even to hear the terms of adjustment which he (our minister of peace) was authorized to propose, and finally, under wholly unjustifiable pretexts, involved the two countries in war, by invading the territory of the State of Texas, striking the first blow, and shedding the blood of our citizens on *our own soil*;’ and

“WHEREAS, This House is desirous to obtain a full knowledge of all the facts which go to establish whether the particular spot on which the blood of our citizens was so shed was or was not at that time ‘*our own soil*;’ therefore,

“Resolved, by the House of Representatives, That the President of the United States be respectfully requested to inform this House—

“1st. Whether the spot on which the blood of our citizens was shed, as in his message declared, was or was not within the territory of Spain, at least after the treaty of 1819, until the Mexican Revolution.

"2d. Whether that spot is or is not within the territory which was wrested from Spain by the revolutionary government of Mexico.

"3d. Whether that spot is or is not within a settlement of people, which settlement has existed ever since long before the Texas Revolution, and until its inhabitants fled before the approach of the United States Army.

"4th. Whether that settlement is or is not isolated from any and all other settlement by the Gulf and the Rio Grande on the south and west, and by wide uninhabited regions on the north and east.

"5th. Whether the people of that settlement, or a majority of them, or any of them, have ever submitted themselves to the government or laws of Texas or of the United States, by consent or by compulsion, either by accepting office, or voting at elections, or paying tax, or serving on juries, or having process served upon them, or in any other way.

"6th. Whether the people of that settlement did or did not flee from the approach of the United States army, leaving unprotected their homes and their growing crops, *before* the blood was shed, as in the messages stated; and whether the first blood, so shed, was or was not shed within the inclosure of one of the people who had thus fled from it.

"7th. Whether our *citizens*, whose blood was shed, as in his messages declared, were or were not, at that time, armed officers and soldiers, sent into that settlement by the military order of the President, through the Secretary of War.

"8th. Whether the military force of the United States was or was not so sent into that settlement after General Taylor had more than once intimated to the War Department that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defense or protection of Texas."

Although nothing came of this very pretentious proposition of Mr. Lincoln's, he took his resolutions as the foundation of the big speech he had promised his friends. This is known as his Mexican War speech, and was delivered before the House on the 12th of January, 1848.

This speech was soon in the hands of his constituency, and although it had the Whig ring of Congress, it was not exactly to the taste of many of his most anxious friends even. The Western Whigs were, to a great extent, in favor of pushing the war, and they thought this looked toward the embarrassment of the Administration at the wrong moment. Mr. Lincoln felt considerable uneasiness about it, and his next step was to enter upon its defense in long letters to his friends.

The speech was unnecessarily severe, perhaps, and has something of the air throughout that its author was making an effort, was making much ado about what could not be helped. This was yet Mr. Lincoln's sophomoric age, indeed. But unlike most politicians, he did get out of that, and when that happened, he staid out forever.

The following extracts from two of his letters to Herndon are taken from Lamon's "Life of Lincoln :"—

"WASHINGTON, February 1, 1848.

"DEAR WILLIAM,—Your letter of the 19th ult. was received last night, and for which I am much obliged. The only thing in it that I wish to talk to you about at once is, that because of my vote for Ashmun's amendment, you fear that you and I disagree about the war. I

regret this, not because of any fear we shall remain disagreed after you have read this letter, but because if you misunderstand, I fear other good friends may also. That vote affirms that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President; and I will stake my life that if you had been in my place you would have voted just as I did. Would you have voted what you felt and knew to be a lie? I know you would not. Would you have gone out of the House—skulked the vote? I expect not. If you had skulked one vote you would have had to skulk many more before the end of the session.

“Richardson’s resolutions, introduced before I made any move or gave any vote upon the subject, make the direct question of the justice of the war; so that no man can be silent, if he would. You are compelled to speak, and your only alternative is to tell the truth or tell a lie. I can not doubt which you would do.

“This vote has nothing to do in determining my votes on the questions of supplies. I have always intended, and still intend, to vote supplies, perhaps not in the precise form recommended by the President, but in a better form for all purposes, except Locofoco party purposes. It is in this particular you seem mistaken. The Locos are untiring in their efforts to make the impression that all who vote supplies or take part in the war do, of necessity, approve the President’s conduct in the beginning of it, but the Whigs have from the beginning made and kept the distinction between the two. In the very first act nearly all the Whigs voted against the preamble declaring that war existed by the act of Mexico; and yet nearly all of them voted for supplies.” . . .

“WASHINGTON, February 15, 1848.

“DEAR WILLIAM,—Your letter of the 29th January was received last night. Being exclusively a Constitutional argument, I wish to submit some reflections upon it

in the same spirit of kindness that I know actuates you. Let me first state what I understand to be your position. It is, that if it shall become necessary to repel invasion, the President may, without violation of the Constitution, cross the line, and invade the territory of another country; and that whether such necessity exists in any given case, the President is the sole judge.

“Before going farther, consider well whether this is or is not your position. If it is, it is a position that neither the President nor any of his friends, so far as I know, has ever taken. Their only positions are: first, that the soil was ours when the hostilities commenced; and, second, that whether it was rightfully ours or not, Congress had annexed it, and the President, for that reason, was bound to defend it; both of which are as clearly proved to be false in fact as you can prove that your house is mine. That soil was not ours; and Congress did not annex or attempt to annex it. But to return to your position. Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so whenever he may choose to say he deems it necessary for such purpose, and you allow him to make war at pleasure. Study to see if you can fix any limit to his power in this respect, after having given him so much as you propose. If to-day he should choose to say he deems it necessary to invade Canada, to prevent the British from invading us, how could you stop him? You may say to him: ‘I see no probability of the British invading us;’ but he will say to you: ‘Be silent; I see it, if you do n’t.’

“The provision of the Constitution giving the war-making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons: Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our Convention understood to be

the most oppressive of all kingly oppressions; and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no one man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us. But your view destroys the whole matter, and places our President where kings have always stood.

“Write soon again.

Yours truly,

“A. LINCOLN.”

Mr. Lincoln's argument here is intense and inflated, and does not carry the consent of the reader with the ease he always seemed to expect and exact. A comparison of the President of the United States, with a view to extreme possibilities, with monarchs of the Old World in old times has always savored of insincerity, ignorance, or quackery. Yet it is possible, perhaps, to place too much stress upon the republican simplicity of all American politicians, and the absolute and utter impossibility of any man who could ever be lifted to the Presidency going to any material extent, one way or the other, from the expectations and desires of the people.

Mr. Lincoln made a speech on the 20th of June, 1848, on the interminable Whig theme of “internal improvements.” The usual arguments of his party were substantially employed in this speech, partaking strongly of the coloring for which Mr. Lincoln began now to show the rare faculty that distinguished him at a later date.

During this session of Congress the party conventions were held for nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, and a very great portion of the time of Congressmen was taken up with

these extra-official affairs. Mr. Lincoln was a delegate to the Whig Convention at Philadelphia, and fully supported General Taylor. He did not believe that Mr. Clay could be elected, and he did not attempt to avoid the charge of availability made against the Whigs for throwing him off.

After the nominations, the next thing in order in Congress was a campaign speech from every man who considered himself able to make one, and who considered his own political advancement required it. To this class belonged Mr. Lincoln. On the 27th of July he succeeded in getting an opportunity to deliver his speech, which was a very respectable performance of its kind, but which had nothing in it to benefit his reputation, or especially make it worthy of preservation. I have read it through with a feeling of weariness and dissatisfaction, and am inclined to think it would excite similar feelings in others. Yet the veto power, which it discusses in part, is still an undecided question of interest. Dr. Holland says of this speech:—

“As a campaign harangue, touching the salient features of the principal questions in debate, and revealing the weak points of one candidate and the strong points of the other, it could not have been improved. Considered as a part of the business he was sent to Washington to perform, it was execrable.”

But the same writer finds an apology for this state of affairs in Congress in Mr. Lincoln's own language to one of his correspondents. It reads thus: “The Locofocos here will not let the Whigs be silent, . . .

so that they are compelled to speak, and their only option is whether they will, when they speak, tell the truth, or tell a foul, villainous, and bloody falsehood." Poor, honest Whigs; they were sorely put to it!

After the adjournment of Congress in August, Mr. Lincoln took a trip to New England, where he made several political speeches. He subsequently engaged to some extent in the campaign in his own State. On the following December he was again in his seat in Congress; and although this was a short and unimportant session, Mr. Lincoln had an opportunity to make a record which stood as the introduction to his subsequent history in connection with the downfall of slavery, and was entirely in harmony with his great, but moderate, anti-slavery principle announced in the Legislature of Illinois in 1837, although it is hardly necessary to pretend that his services in that body were greatly suggestive of his interesting future.

On the 21st of December, Mr. Gott, of New York, brought before the House the following preamble and resolution:—

“WHEREAS, The traffic now prosecuted in this metropolis of the Republic in human beings, as chattels, is contrary to natural justice and the fundamental principles of our political system, and is notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom, and a serious hindrance to the progress of republican liberty among the nations of the earth; therefore,

“*Resolved*, That the Committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to report a bill, as soon as practicable, prohibiting the slave-trade in said District.”

Mr. Lincoln did not approve the language of this resolution, nor the manner in which it was introduced, and opposed it with his vote.

When the motion to reconsider the vote tabling this resolution was before the House on the 16th of January, 1849, Mr. Lincoln offered as a substitute the following:—

“Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia be instructed to report a bill, in substance as follows:—

“SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That no person not now within the District of Columbia, nor now owned by any person or persons now resident within it, nor hereafter born within it, shall ever be held in slavery within said District.

“SEC. 2. That no person now within said District or now owned by any person or persons now resident within the same, or hereafter born within it, shall ever be held in slavery without the limits of said District: Provided, that officers of the Government of the United States, being citizens of the slaveholding States, coming into said District on public business, and remaining only so long as may be reasonably necessary for that object, may be attended into and out of said District, and while there, by the necessary servants of themselves and their families, without their right to hold such servants in service being thereby impaired.

“SEC. 3. That all children born of slave mothers within said District, on or after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1850, shall be free; but shall be reasonably supported and educated by the respective owners of their mothers or by their heirs and representatives until they respectively arrive at the age of — years, when

they shall be entirely free. And the municipal authorities of Washington and Georgetown, within their respective jurisdictional limits, are hereby empowered and required to make all suitable and necessary provisions for enforcing obedience to this section, on the part of both masters and apprentices.

“SEC. 4. That all persons now within said District, lawfully held as slaves, or now owned by any person or persons now resident within said District, shall remain such at the will of their respective owners, their heirs and legal representatives: *Provided*, that any such owner, or his legal representatives, may at any time receive from the treasury of the United States the full value of his or her slave of the class in this section mentioned; upon which such slave shall be forthwith and forever free: *And provided further*, that the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be a board for determining the value of such slaves as their owners may desire to emancipate under this section, and whose duty it shall be to hold a session for the purpose, on the first Monday of each calendar month; to receive all applications, and, on satisfactory evidence in each case that the person presented for valuation is a slave, and of the class in this section mentioned, and is owned by the applicant, shall value such slave at his or her full cash value and give to the applicant an order on the treasury for the amount and also to such slave a certificate of freedom.

“SEC. 5. That the municipal authorities of Washington and Georgetown, within their respective jurisdictional limits, are hereby empowered and required to provide active and efficient means to assert and deliver up to their owners all fugitive slaves escaping into said District.

“SEC. 6. That the election officers within said District of Columbia are hereby empowered and required to open polls at all the usual places of holding elections on the

first Monday of April next and receive the vote of every free white male citizen above the age of twenty-one years, having resided within said District for the period of one year or more next preceding the time of such voting for or against this act, to proceed in taking said votes in all respects herein not specified, as at elections under the municipal laws, and with as little delay as possible to transmit correct statements of the votes so cast to the President of the United States; and it shall be the duty of the President to canvass said votes immediately, and if a majority of them be found to be for this act to forthwith issue his proclamation, giving notice of the fact, and this act shall only be in full force and effect on and after the day of such proclamation.

“SEC. 7. That involuntary servitude for the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall in nowise be prohibited by this act.

“SEC. 8. That for all the purposes of this act the jurisdictional limits of Washington are extended to all parts of the District of Columbia not now included within the present limits of Georgetown.”

Although Mr. Lincoln felt some hope in the partial success of this scheme, it was left with the unfinished business of the session, and was never heard of again. After the manner of a politician, he had taken some preliminary steps to secure its success, one of which was a partial arrangement with the editor of “The National Intelligencer” to support it. But this support failed, and, seeing the fate of his plan, he lost his own interest in it. In these resolutions Mr. Lincoln plainly enough shows his belief in the legal rights of slavery under the Constitution. They very effectually refute the claim made by the

Abolitionists that he utterly rejected the theory that there was no such thing as property in slaves under the Constitution. His previous and after life also refuted this claim. He only held to the moral wrong and impolicy of slavery. He also, no doubt, keenly felt the aggravating and evil effects of slavery in the District of Columbia, where people from all parts of the Nation violently opposed to the "institution" of slavery were compelled to submit to the perpetual outrage of their feelings.

Nothing came of this affair, but it was in the direct line of events with which Mr. Lincoln's name takes its place in history. For this cause it was held that

"The hero won his well-earned place
Amid the saints, in death's dread hour."

Thus ended Mr. Lincoln's Congressional career. He dearly desired to become a United States Senator, and President Buchanan and many extreme pro-slavery men of the South preferred his election over Stephen A. Douglas. He had voted constantly and often for the Wilmot Proviso, and they knew him unalterably opposed to the advance of slavery into new territory, nor did any of his more recent utterances especially frighten them. They believed him honest and firm in his convictions as to slavery in the States under the Constitution. Mr. Lincoln was not a brilliant man, and was really incapable of making a brilliant record in Congress, and this he certainly did not do. But he was exceedingly industrious and active, and lost no opportunity to dis-

tinguish himself. Few men in a single and only term in that body have done so much, and although the occasion which he sought for distinction did not come, his friends had no need to be dissatisfied with the earnest effort he made.

He had not become famous. He could not even speak of himself as M. Ballanche did of himself to the beautiful Mme. Récamier: "There is no surface to my kind of talent; others build a palace on the earth, and this palace is seen afar; I dig a well of a sufficiently great depth, but it can not be seen, except when one comes very near to it." Neither had he reared the palace nor dug the well.

But he was not yet done. Mr. Lincoln wisely believed that no one knew the strength of his faculties before having tested them. And happily he never saw the time when he would have exclaimed with Chateaubriand: "I shall feel a true joy when I am considered good for nothing, and am let alone."

About his re-election to Congress, Mr. Lincoln wrote to "Dear William" early in January, 1848:—

"It is very pleasant to me to learn from you that there are some who desire my re-election. I most heartily thank them for the kind partiality; and can say as Mr. Clay said of the annexation of Texas, that 'personally I would not object' to a re-election, although I thought at the time, and still think, it would be quite as well for me to return to the law at the end of a single term. I made the declaration that I would not be a candidate again, more from a wish to deal fairly with others; to keep peace among our friends, and to keep the district from going to the enemy, than for any cause personal to myself; so that if it should

so happen that nobody wishes to be elected, I could not refuse the people the right of sending me again. But to enter myself a competitor of others, or to authorize any one so to enter me, is what my word and honor forbid."

It is quite evident from this letter, that Mr. Lincoln had pledged himself not to take the nomination again at this time. The arrangement had been made between Hardin, Baker, Lincoln, and Logan, and Baker and Hardin had had their turn. Logan, Lincoln's former partner, now received the nomination, and was defeated. Although Mr. Lincoln was elected by a majority of fifteen hundred in 1846, there is good ground for believing that he would have been defeated now worse than Logan was. Logan was a popular man, but the Whig war record was not satisfactory to the party in Illinois. Lincoln's bargain, which he and Baker and Hardin seemed always on the point of breaking, was fortunate, and enabled him to state to one of his biographers boastfully that he never had been beaten but once before the people.

Notwithstanding his conviction that he ought to return to the energetic practice of his profession, Mr. Lincoln had an itching for office which could never be satisfied. He therefore decided to ask an appointment under General Taylor. He did accordingly apply for the office of Commissioner of the General Land-office, a place for which he was not fitted, and which he failed to get. But this disappointment did not relieve him of the desire for place. President Fillmore offered to gratify him by giving him the governorship of Oregon. His friends desired him to

accept this position, and it was his own conviction that he ought to do so. They said that step would open the way for him to the United States Senate, where he wanted to go. Oregon would soon become a State, and he would be one of her Senators. This all seemed likely enough, but still there was a question as to whether that would prove to be the right road to the Senate for him. And this, it appears, only one person had the far-reaching wisdom to see and answer. That was none other than Mrs. Lincoln, who had a wonderful faculty for discerning political events. She said no, with the marvelous rapidity in which a woman reaches a conclusion. Mrs. Lincoln said that Oregon was out of the world; that imprisonment there would be the end of her hopes and plans for her husband's success. The governorship of Oregon was not the way, in her estimation, to the Presidency. And, perhaps, she was right. Her judgment was relied on, and the proffer declined, and neither Mr. Lincoln nor his wise political friends ever had reason to regret the woman's decision, or that he was obliged to abide by it.

CHAPTER XI.

LINCOLN IN POLITICS FROM 1849 TO 1860 — THE VICE-PRESIDENCY IN 1856—TRIALS AND FAILURES—
MR. DOUGLAS.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Lincoln now returned to the practice of his profession, he did not give up his interest in current politics, nor lose sight of the great purpose of his life, to reach an exalted place in the esteem of men. As a lawyer, he neither hoped nor desired to do this, but as a politician. Still, in the long period which elapsed till his election to the Presidency, and in which he held no office of any kind, he greatly increased his reputation as a lawyer, and gathered around him some of the comforts of life, and was enabled to give a helping hand to others in whom he had an interest. These were valuable years to him in many senses. They were years of culture and preparation. Life in a wider arena had shown him many of his own defects, as well as taught him how to improve on those of other persons. In certain directions he was keen in the detection of his own faults and deficiencies. And whether sincere or not, it was easy for him to acknowledge the humble character of his qualities. He resumed his old habits of reading and study, from the school-books to nearly every phase of

literature, and also resumed his old methods of dreaming. I have in a former chapter referred, in decided language, to his disposition to read novels during his last years at New Salem. In later years, it must, however, be said, Mr. Lincoln mainly abandoned reading of that nature, maintaining simply that he could not afford to give his time to such things. There was no strictly moral question connected with his discarding this comparatively worthless and vicious line of reading. Mr. Lincoln's religious reading, if there ever was any, will be referred to in another part of this work. His family was now growing, and to it he gave considerable attention, but was never what may be termed a model father or husband, as may also be seen in its proper place.

He did not, in these prosperous days, forget his father's family down in Coles County. His step-brother, Johnston, was a trifling fellow, and a source of almost constant trouble and expense to him. Sometimes he treated his demands with neglect, but usually ended in giving him what he wanted. Yet this was hardly satisfactory to Johnston, and much of the time they occupied unfriendly attitudes towards each other. The following remarkable letter, copied from Lamon, will sufficiently exhibit their relations and the character of this worthless relative:—

“DEAR JOHNSTON,—Your request for eighty dollars I do not think it best to comply with now. At various times when I have helped you a little, you have said to me, ‘We can get along very well now;’ but in a very short time I find you in the same difficulty again. Now,

this can only happen by some defect in your conduct. What that defect is, I think I know. You are not lazy, and still you are an idler. I doubt whether, since I saw you, you have done a good whole day's work in any one day. You do not very much dislike to work, and still you do not work much, merely because it does not seem to you that you could get much for it. This habit of uselessly wasting time is the whole difficulty; and it is vastly important to you, and still more so to your children, that you should break the habit. It is more important to them, because they have longer to live, and can keep out of an idle habit before they are in it, easier than they can get out after they are in.

"You are now in need of some money; and what I propose is, that you shall go to work, 'tooth and nail,' for somebody who will give you money for it. Let father and your boys take charge of things at home, prepare for a crop, and make the crop, and you go to work for the best money-wages, or in discharge of any debt you owe, that you can get; and to secure you a fair reward for your labor, I now promise you that, for every dollar you will, between this and the first of next May, get for your own labor, either in money or as your own indebtedness, I will then give you one other dollar. By this, if you hire yourself at ten dollars a month, from me you will get ten more, making twenty dollars a month for your work. In this I do not mean you shall go off to St. Louis, or the lead-mines, or the gold-mines in California; but I mean for you to go at it for the best wages you can get close to home, in Coles County. Now, if you will do this, you will soon be out of debt, and, what is better, you will have a habit that will keep you from getting in debt again. But if I should now clear you out of debt, next year you will be just as deep in as ever. You say you would almost give your place in heaven (Heaven) for seventy or eighty dollars. Then you value your place in heaven very cheap;

for I am sure you can, with the offer I make, get the seventy or eighty dollars for four or five months' work. You say, if I will furnish you the money, you will deed me the land, and, if you don't pay me the money back, you will deliver possession. Nonsense! If you can't now live with the land, how will you then live without it? You have always been kind to me, and I do not mean to be unkind to you. On the contrary, if you will but follow my advice, you will find it worth more than eighty times eighty dollars to you.

"Affectionately, your brother, A. LINCOLN."

Not long after this the following letter was sent to Johnston, who, of course, never carried out his wise proposition:—

"SPRINGFIELD, January 12, 1851.

"DEAR BROTHER,—On the day before yesterday I received a letter from Harriet (Johnston's sister, Mrs. Chapman), written at Greenup. She says she has just returned from your house, and that father is very low, and will hardly recover. She also says that you have written me two letters, and that, although you do not expect me to come now, you wonder that I do not write. I received both your letters; and, although I have not answered them, it is not because I have forgotten them, or not been interested about them, but because it appeared to me I could write nothing which could do any good. You already know I desire that neither father nor mother shall be in want of any comfort, either in health or sickness, while they live; and I feel sure you have not failed to use my name, if necessary, to procure a doctor or anything else for father in his present sickness. My business is such that I could hardly leave home now, if it were not, as it is, that my own wife is sick abed. (It is a case of baby-sickness, and, I suppose, is not dangerous.)

"I sincerely hope father may yet recover his health;

but, at all events, tell him to remember to call upon and confide in our great and good and merciful Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads; and he will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in him. Say to him, that, if we could meet now, it is doubtful whether it would be more painful than pleasant; but that, if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with loved ones gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them.

“Write me again when you receive this.

“Affectionately,

A. LINCOLN.”

In a few days after this letter was written Thomas Lincoln died, and his already busy and distinguished son never saw him again, living or dead, in this world. Sally Bush continued to live on her little farm with Johnston, her son, or with Chapman, her son-in-law, and Mr. Lincoln never ceased to respect and care for her, but he never invited her to live with him, nor even to visit him. He took some interest in Johnston's children, and had some trouble and annoyance on their account, as they were even more trifling than their father. One of them committed some offense, on account of which Lincoln was obliged to go forward and defend and clear him.

In 1850 Mr. Lincoln was again invited to run for Congress; but this time he declined on his own account. He had tried the Lower House, and now desired to await his chances for the Senate. In 1852 he made a few speeches for General Scott, but was not enthusiastic or active in that campaign. He favored the Compromise Measures of 1850, and

desired to believe, with the other Whigs and Northern Democrats, that the slavery dissensions were at an end. He was opposed to slavery, and considered it the great boundless evil of the country, but he was not an Abolitionist, and could not support their methods of operating against slavery.

The times did not seem auspicious for advancing a political ambition, and Mr. Lincoln mourned the lack of opportunities. There was nothing to gratify his thirst for fame; there seemed nothing that he could do to better his country, or establish his memory on earth by the good he had done his fellow-men. He was chagrined, dispirited, and gloomy, and what he did attempt to do was not well done, and was a disappointment to himself and his friends. This fact he especially exhibited in a reply he made in Springfield to Mr. Douglas's first speech in the campaign of 1852, at Richmond, Virginia. Mr. Lincoln was always jealous of the great progress made by Douglas in the popular favor, and he had a strong desire to pursue and put him down. He never lost an opportunity, if he could help it, to that end. It seemed to be a part of his mission in the world he thought, or acted as if he did, to follow Douglas and suppress him. He could not feel satisfied to share the public attention with a man like Mr. Douglas. He asked the "Scott Club" of Springfield to allow him to annihilate the "Little Giant" at this time, and his speech was one of the worst he ever made. It came nearer annihilating himself than little Douglas. Much of his jealousy and ill-feeling toward

Douglas was conspicuous in the speech, and his best and most anxious friends, his trainers, as it were, felt annoyed over his failure.

But this was the end of his failures. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 aroused the lion in the man. An emergency had suddenly appeared at an unexpected moment. A new era had dawned. The friends of slavery and their ambitious political allies had started a whirlwind destined to swallow them and the institution which had falsely and wickedly been made to embrace and overshadow all other interests of the Union. Here now was, without any help from him, opening the wonderful and tragic way by which he was to reach that eminence which both Mr. Douglas and himself considered the chief end of man, at least of two men.

In October, 1854, Mr. Douglas appeared at the State Fair at Springfield. He made a speech there in support of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and his own course in Congress. Mr. Lincoln answered with great satisfaction to his friends, and in a manner, undoubtedly, to throw Douglas into consternation. Mr. Douglas attempted a reply on the spot, but in the midst of it, night coming on, he proposed to resume his speech in an hour or two. This he failed to do, and left the town with the conviction that slavery and himself had an unanswerable opponent in this great awkward man. Lincoln was now by unanimous consent chosen champion of the Anti-Nebraska men, and directly invited by them to follow Mr. Douglas wherever he went over the State. This

was just what he desired above all things to do. Accordingly, when Mr. Douglas appeared a few days subsequently at Peoria, Lincoln was there, answering him with even more power than he did at Springfield.

At the close of this debate at Peoria the following strange thing happened, as related substantially by Mr. Lincoln himself to some of his friends, and adopted as the truth of the matter by Mr. Lamon:—

“What Lincoln said was about this: that the day after the Peoria debate in 1854, Douglas came to him (Lincoln) and flattered him that he (Lincoln) understood the Territorial question from the organization of the Government better than all the opposition in the Senate of the United States; and he did not see that he could make anything by debating it with him; and then reminded him (Lincoln) of the trouble they had given him, and remarked that Lincoln had given him more trouble than all the opposition in the Senate combined; and followed up with the proposition that he would go home, and speak no more during the campaign, if Lincoln would do the same; to which proposition Lincoln acceded.”

On the very day, however, both Douglas and Lincoln started to Lacon. Douglas had been advertised to speak there, and Lincoln had been notified that he was expected to be on hands to answer him. Douglas reaching Lacon, and finding that Lincoln was following him, pretended to be too hoarse to speak, and withdrew; and Lincoln coming and seeing the true state of things absolutely declined to speak. And thus ended this controversy, although, perhaps, both Lincoln and Douglas did a time or two break this truce they had entered upon. The following

remarkable extracts are given from Mr. Lincoln's Peoria speech, which he wrote out in full and had printed :—

“ I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it; if it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances, and others would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tip-top Abolitionists; while some Northern men go South, and become cruel slave-masters.

“ When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the existing slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land; but a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them under us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any

rate, yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon.

“What next? Free them and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and, if mine would, we all know that the great mass of white people would not. Whether this opinion accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if, indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, can not be safely disregarded. We can not, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.

“When they remind us of their Constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not in its stringency be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

“But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory than it would for reviving the African slave-trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them to Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could not find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter. . . .

“But Nebraska is urged as a great Union-saving measure. Well, I too, go for saving the Union. Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it, rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any great evil to avoid a greater one. But, when I go to Union-saving, I must believe, at least, that the means I employ have adaptation to the end. To my mind, Nebraska has no such adaptation. ‘It hath no relish of salvation in it.’ It is an aggravation, rather, of

the only one thing which ever endangers the Union. When it came upon us, all was peace and quiet. The Nation was looking to the forming of new bonds of union, and a long course of peace and prosperity seemed to lie before us. In the whole range of possibility, there scarcely appears to me to have been anything out of which the slavery agitation could have been revived, except the project of repealing the Missouri Compromise. Every inch of territory we owned already had a definite settlement of the slavery question, and by which all parties were pledged to abide. Indeed there was no uninhabited country on the continent which we could acquire, if we except some extreme northern regions, which are wholly out of the question. In this state of the case the Genius of Discord himself could scarcely have invented a way of getting us by the ears, but by turning back and destroying the peace measures of the past. . . .

“Could there be a more apt invention to bring about a collision and violence on the slavery question than this Nebraska project is? I do not charge or believe that such was intended by Congress; but if they had literally formed a ring, and placed champions within it to fight out the controversy, the fight could be no more likely to come off than it is. And if this fight should begin, is it likely to take a very peaceful, Union-saving turn? Will not the first drop of blood so shed be the real knell of the Union?”

No man can say truly at this day that Abraham Lincoln did not understand the nature of the conflict long before men generally knew its first note had been sounded. One lesson, however, he was as slow in learning as most of his countrymen in the North; that is, that slavery had become so much a part of the very philosophy, morals, and life of the Southern

people that they would risk a great war or even annihilation for its preservation.

That Mr. Lincoln was an enemy to slavery at the time of this debate with Mr. Douglas, in 1854, there can be no doubt, or that he had always been since he had thought of the subject. But he was not an Abolitionist, and time was yet needed to determine what position he should really occupy on the momentous topic. His sense of right was quite as strong as his sympathy, and that he should ever be controlled by one at the expense of the other was hardly possible. He could not be the leader of a crusade. He was not a reformer, and with great caution approached the established practices of men. Towards the habits, feelings, or politics of men he could not be radical. Though his notions were for a time vague and undecided, by his own generous showing, he never could have taken the side of slavery. When he became the great instrument of Abolitionism he by no means favored or embraced the means of Abolitionists. And of all the enemies of slavery he was less to be feared and more to be trusted by the South than any other in the United States. He was a fair judge, and to decide evenly and justly between men was one of the great glories of his life. His attachments to his own race were not strong; to the African they were vague. He took the side of the oppressed in favor of liberty and fair play about the same among the lower animals as among men. The idea of being the Great Liberator did not dawn upon him until a late date, and the

motives that underlay this idea were more of patriotism than anything else. But this point must remain to be examined in another place.

During the State Fair in October, 1854, at Springfield, especially after Mr. Lincoln's reply to the speech of Douglas, the Abolitionists, who had gathered there in full force, determined to make Mr. Lincoln commit himself to their policy and methods. In this they were not successful, as hearing of their intentions he disappeared until what they had to do was done. And although his name was used as one of them, it was without his knowledge or consent, as he subsequently showed when attacked by Mr. Douglas. Still, about this time, or after the election in November, when it was found that the fusionists, or Anti-Nebraska members were in the majority in the Legislature, it is, perhaps, true that Mr. Lincoln took a step towards identifying himself with the Abolitionists of his State, at least so far as to secure their support. Mr. Lincoln now saw his opportunity to gain his long-cherished wish, to get into the United States Senate. For this he was willing to stretch a point. Owen Lovejoy and other Abolition leaders refused to support him in the Legislature unless he would pledge himself to favor the exclusion of slavery from all present or future territory of the Nation. The Nebraska Act had thrown down the Compromises, which Mr. Lincoln had considered a final settlement of the slavery troubles, and thus this requirement of the Abolitionists would not materially embarrass him, as he never did believe in its extension out of the limits

it then embraced, although he fully admitted its rights south of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. At all events, Mr. Lincoln made the pledge required, and thought himself tolerably certain of a seat in the United States Senate.

William Jayne, who was considered, in common parlance, a friend of Mr. Lincoln, but who must have been a meddlesome politician, in Mr. Lincoln's absence from home, and without his knowledge, announced him as one of the candidates for the Legislature. Mrs. Lincoln immediately went to the editor of the paper and had the name of her husband withdrawn. But Bill Jayne took the liberty to have the announcement made again, and Mr. Lincoln was actually elected by six hundred majority. Mrs. Lincoln wisely treated this affair as a piece of mischief to the man she had in training for the Presidency. Going backward was not her way of getting on in the world. She had been wiser than all other politicians, when Mr. Lincoln would have submitted to exile as the Governor of Oregon, and now it required but little insight into the tricks and chances of politics to discern that the Legislature was no place for Mr. Lincoln at that stage. He did not himself, however, feel so clear about the matter. Lamson says that Jayne said about his visit to Mr. Lincoln to get him to let his name stand:—

“I went to see him, in order to get his consent to run. This was at his house. He was then the saddest man I ever saw, the gloomiest. He walked up and down the floor, almost crying; and to all my persuasions to let his

name stand in the paper, he said: 'No, I can't. You do n't know all. I say you do n't begin to know one-half, and that's enough.' I did, however, go and have his name reinstated."

Mr. Lincoln was in one of his moods. The gloom-fiend had taken possession of him. He was bearing his cross, this man of fancied sorrows. Mrs. Lincoln was at the bottom of it. It was weak and contemptible for him to tell this Jayne that he did not know all, when this all was in his own family. It is one of not a few pitiable pictures. Mrs. Lincoln and her husband aimed at the same end for him, but in reference to the way to that end they often differed widely, with the advantage usually, perhaps, on the side of the cunning woman. But Mr. Lincoln, seeing the complexion of the Legislature, and believing that his election to the National Senate was certain, resigned the position to which he had been chosen, greatly to the delight of his wife.

On the 8th of February, 1855, the Legislature met to choose a Senator. The leading opponent of Mr. Lincoln, at the outset, was the Squatter Sovereign, General James Shields, who had already given Mr. Lincoln a great deal of trouble; a stubborn Irishman, whose qualities, both as a politician and soldier, have always been considerably overdone by his partisans. On the first ballot Shields got but forty-one votes, the Democrats being somewhat divided, and five of them being irrevocably Anti-Nebraska men. These five men were also opposed to Mr. Lincoln. Some of the Abolition members preferred Judge

Trumbull as safer for their purposes than Mr. Lincoln. The Anti-Nebraska Democrats would not go for him, and they held the balance of power. The Democrats also began to turn their attention to Governor Joel Matteson when they found they could not re-elect Senator Shields; and Matteson was not only likely to receive his party vote, but also to take a part, if not all, of the five Anti-Nebraska Democrats. The state of affairs was now critical. The continued candidacy of both Trumbull and Lincoln was about to result in a Democratic victory. Mr. Lincoln now had an opportunity to show one of his finest qualities, that he could sacrifice himself for what he deemed greater than himself. His heart was in the election. But he now came forward and urged his supporters to go for Trumbull, which would secure his election and defeat Matteson. This they generally did, with great reluctance, and on the tenth ballot Trumbull was elected. He soon settled down fully in the Republican ranks, and neither the Anti-Nebraska men nor the Republicans ever had reason to regret the necessity which made him Senator in 1855, over Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln's failure was not a misfortune to him, perhaps. He saw well enough that he could not be elected, and his withdrawal in Trumbull's favor made no great demand upon his personal ambition. But he saw that the party and the great purpose of it would be benefited by his giving his friends, who would have held to him in defeat, to another.

The following letter to Joshua F. Speed of Louis-

ville, Kentucky, will show what view Mr. Lincoln took of Kansas affairs, and how the iron of slavery was still cutting into his excited feelings:—

“SPRINGFIELD, August 24, 1855.

“DEAR SPEED,—You know what a poor correspondent I am. Ever since I received your very agreeable letter of the 22d of May, I have been intending to write you in answer to it. You suggest that in political action now, you and I would differ. You know I dislike slavery, and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it. So far there is no cause of difference. But you say that sooner than yield your legal right to the slave, especially at the bidding of those who are not themselves interested, you would see the Union dissolve. I am not aware that any one is bidding you yield that right—very certainly I am not. I leave that matter entirely to yourself. I also acknowledge your rights and my obligations under the Constitution, in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down, and caught and carried back to their stripes and unrequited toil; but I bite my lip, and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious, low-water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were on board ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me, and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave border. It is not fair for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the people of the North do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union.

“I do oppose the extension of slavery, because my judgment and feelings so prompt me; and I am under no

obligations to the contrary. If, for this, you and I must differ, differ we must. You say if you were President you would send an army, and hang the leaders of the Missouri outrages upon the Kansas elections ; still, if Kansas fairly votes herself a Slave State, she must be admitted, or the Union must be dissolved. But how if she votes herself a Slave State unfairly ; that is, by the very means for which you would hang men ? Must she still be admitted, or the Union dissolved ? That will be the phase of the question when it first becomes a practical one.

“ In your assumption that there may be a fair decision of the slavery question in Kansas, I plainly see you and I would differ about the Nebraska Law. I look upon that enactment not as a law, but as a violence, from the beginning. It was conceived in violence, passed in violence, is maintained in violence, and is being executed in violence. I say it was conceived in violence, because the destruction of the Missouri Compromise under the Constitution was nothing less than violence. It was passed in violence, because it could not have passed at all but for the votes of many members in violent disregard of the known will of their constituents. It is maintained in violence, because the elections since clearly demand its repeal, and the demand is openly disregarded.

“ You say men ought to be hung for the way they are executing that law ; and I say the way it is being executed is quite as good as any of its antecedents. It is being executed in the precise way which was intended from the first, else, why does no Nebraska man express astonishment or condemnation ? Poor Reeder has been the only man who has been silly enough to believe that anything like fairness was ever intended, and he has been bravely undeceived.

“ That Kansas will form a slave constitution, and with it, will ask to be admitted into the Union, I take to be an already settled question, and so settled by the very

means you so pointedly condemn. By every principle of law ever held by any court, North or South, every negro taken to Kansas is free; and in utter disregard of this—in the spirit of violence merely—that beautiful Legislature gravely passes a law to hang men who shall venture to inform a negro of his legal rights. This is the substance and real object of the law. If, like Haman, they should hang upon the gallows of their own building, I shall not be among the mourners for their fate.

“In my humble sphere, I shall advocate the restoration of the Missouri Compromise so long as Kansas remains a Territory; and when, by all these foul means it seeks to come into the Union as a Slave State, I shall oppose it. I am very loath, in any case, to withhold my assent to the enjoyment of property acquired or located in good faith; but I do not admit that good faith in taking a negro to Kansas, to be held in slavery, is a possibility with any man. Any man who has sense enough to be the controller of his own property, has too much sense to misunderstand the outrageous character of the whole Nebraska business.

“But I digress. In my opposition to the admission of Kansas, I shall have some company; but we may be beaten. If we are, I shall not, on that account, attempt to dissolve the Union. I think it probable, however, that we shall be beaten. Standing as a unit among yourselves, you can, directly, and indirectly, bribe enough of our men to carry the day—as you could on an open proposition to establish monarchy. Get hold of some man in the North whose position and ability are such that he can make the support of your measure—whatever it may be—a Democratic party necessity, and the thing is done.

“Apropos of this, let me tell you an anecdote. Douglas introduced the Nebraska Bill in January. In February, afterwards, there was a called session of the Illinois Legislature. Of the one hundred members comprising the two branches of that body, about seventy were Democrats.

The latter held a caucus in which the Nebraska Bill was talked of, if not formally discussed. It was thereby discovered that just three, and no more, were in favor of the measure. In a day or two, Douglas's orders came on to have resolutions passed, approving the bill, and they were passed by large majorities!!! The truth of this is vouched for by a bolting Democratic member. The masses, too, Democratic as well as Whig, were even more unanimous against it, but as soon as the party necessity of supporting it became apparent, the way the Democracy began to see the wisdom and justice of it was perfectly astonishing.

"You say if Kansas fairly votes herself a Free State, as a Christian you will rather rejoice at it. All decent slaveholders talk that way, and I do not doubt their candor; but they never vote that way. Although in a private letter or conversation you will express your preference that Kansas shall be free, you would vote for no man for Congress who would say the same thing publicly. No such man could be elected, from any district, or any Slave State. You think Stringfellow & Company ought to be hung; and yet you will vote for the exact type and representation of Stringfellow. The slave-breeders and slave-traders are a small and detested class among you, and yet in politics they dictate the course of all of you, and are as completely your masters as you are the masters of your own negroes.

"You inquire where I now stand. That is a disputed point. I think I am a Whig; but others say there are no Whigs, and that I am an Abolitionist. When I was in Washington, I voted for the Wilmot Proviso as good as forty times, and I never heard of any attempt to un-whig me for that. I now do no more than oppose the extension of slavery. I am not a Know-Nothing—that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of the negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a Nation, we began

by declaring that 'all men are created equal.' We now practically read it: 'All men are created equal, except negroes.' When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read: 'All men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics.' When it comes to that, I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy. Your friend forever,

"A. LINCOLN."

Toward the end of May a convention of men met at Bloomington, Illinois. They were Abolitionists, Old-line Whigs, Fusionists, Republicans, all opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska business, and unfriendly to slavery; some to its extension only decidedly; some to it in any form and any place. Mr. Lincoln's name had been signed to the call for this meeting by his partner. But he approved his course, and appeared as the "big man" at the convention. He made a speech at this meeting, and helped organize the new party in the State which was henceforward known as the Republican party.

Mr. Lamon says that shortly after this Herndon tried to have a ratification of the Bloomington convention at Springfield, but utterly failed, there only being three men in attendance, and one of them was Lincoln. On the authority of Herndon, he says that Mr. Lincoln made this remarkable speech to his two hearers:—

"Gentlemen, this meeting is larger than I knew it would be. I knew that Herndon and myself would come, but I did not know that any one else would be here, and

yet another has come, you, John Pain. These are sad times, and seem out of joint. All seems dead, dead, dead; but the age is not yet dead; it liveth as sure as our Maker liveth. Under all this seeming want of life and motion the world does move, nevertheless. Be hopeful. And now let us adjourn and appeal to the people!"

It really looked as if Mr. Lincoln had now allowed his better nature, his devotion to unselfish and determined principles to carry him beyond his depth, to lose sight of his race after self-glory. But, however this may have been, the result proved the wisdom of this apparently doubtful step. In February the Republicans had met in their first general convention at Pittsburgh, preparatory to their first national nominating Presidential Convention in Philadelphia in June. At this convention Mr. Lincoln first was introduced to the American people. The chairman of the delegation from his State brought his name before the convention as its choice for the Vice-Presidency, and he received one hundred and ten votes, some of the Western men supporting him with considerable enthusiasm. Mr. Lincoln considered this event quite honorable to himself, and regarded it as one of the real surprises of his life. He certainly expected nothing of the kind, and probably in his many dreams had not taken the Vice-Presidency into his plans for reaching the White House. In the early days of the Republic this office had been placed in the regular line of succession, but things were different in 1856, and the Vice-Presidency had come to be regarded as largely complimentary.

Mr. Lincoln was again candidate on the Republican ticket for Presidential elector, and "canvassed" a great part of the State for Fremont and Dayton. His course was exceedingly satisfactory to his party. There were now great issues, and dropping his office-seeking and jealous criticism of the aspirations of other men, he rose to the full dignity of the occasion like a statesman. Many of his speeches were unusually powerful; shorn of all appearances of mere display, they went, with the wonderful simplicity of which he was master from this time forward, to the bottom of the great questions of the day; and none of them were without the peculiar and attractive ring that subsequently characterized his language.

One of Mr. Lincoln's letters written during this campaign, and which was severely denounced by the Democrats, is worth preservation here:—

"SPRINGFIELD, September 8, 1856.

"HARRISON MALTBY, Esq.:—

"DEAR SIR,—I understand you are a Fillmore man. Let me prove to you that every vote withheld from Fremont and given to Fillmore in this State actually lessens Fillmore's chance of being President. Suppose Buchanan gets all the Slave States and Pennsylvania, and any other one State besides; then he is elected, no matter who gets all the rest.

"But suppose Fillmore gets the two Slave States of Maryland and Kentucky; then Buchanan is not elected Fillmore goes into the House of Representatives, and may be made President by a compromise.

"But suppose, again, Fillmore's friends throw away a few thousand votes on him in Indiana and Illinois; it will inevitably give these States to Buchanan, which will

more than compensate for his loss of Maryland and Kentucky; will elect him, and leave Fillmore no chance in the House of Representatives, or out of it.

"This is as plain as adding up the weights of three small hogs. As Mr. Fillmore has no possible chance to carry Illinois for himself, it is plainly to his interest to let Fremont take it, and thus keep it out of the hands of Buchanan. Be not deceived. Buchanan is the hard horse to beat in this race. Let him have Illinois, and nothing can beat him; and he will get Illinois if men persist in throwing away votes upon Mr. Fillmore. Does some one persuade you that Mr. Fillmore can carry Illinois? Nonsense! There are over seventy newspapers in Illinois opposing Buchanan, only three or four of which support Mr. Fillmore, all the rest going for Fremont. Are not these newspapers a fair index of the proportion of the votes? If not, tell me why.

"Again, of these three or four Fillmore newspapers, two, at least, are supported in part by the Buchanan men, as I understand. Do not they know where the shoe pinches? They know the Fillmore movement helps them, and therefore they help it.

"Do think these things over, and act according to your judgment.

Yours very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

Early in June, 1857, Mr. Douglas appeared at Springfield and delivered a speech, in which he discussed Kansas affairs, the Dred Scott decision, and the rebellion in Utah, the three important topics of the times. The Mormon difficulty he disposed of in a very summary way, although rather high-handed for the leader of the squatter sovereign, non-intervention Democracy. His plan was to annul the Territorial status of Utah. The Dred Scott decision

he indorsed. And to the action of the Lecompton Convention he committed himself beforehand.

Abraham Lincoln heard this speech, and it fired him, as everything did which was uttered by Mr. Douglas. He at once set about preparing an answer, which he delivered at Springfield on the 26th of June, two weeks after Mr. Douglas had spoken there. The following is an extract from this speech:—

“There is a natural disgust, in the minds of nearly all white people, to the idea of an indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races; and Judge Douglas evidently is basing his chief hope upon the chances of his being able to appropriate the benefit of this disgust to himself. If he can, by much drumming and repeating, fasten the odium of that idea upon his adversaries, he thinks he can struggle through the storm. He, therefore, clings to this hope as a drowning man to the last plank. He makes an occasion for lugging it in from the opposition to the Dred Scott decision. He finds the Republicans insisting that the Declaration of Independence includes ALL men, black as well as white, and forthwith he boldly denies that it includes negroes at all, and proceeds to argue gravely that all who contend it does, do so only because they want to vote, eat and sleep, and marry with negroes! He will have it that they can not be consistent else. Now, I protest against the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave, I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either. I can just leave her alone. In some respects she certainly is not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands, without asking leave of any one else, she is my equal, and the equal of all others.

“Chief-Justice Taney, in his opinion in the Dred Scott

case, admits that the language of the Declaration is broad enough to include the whole human family; but he and Judge Douglas argue that the authors of that instrument did not intend to include negroes, by the fact that they did not at once actually place them on an equality with the whites. Now, this grave argument comes to just nothing at all, by the other fact, that they did not at once, or ever afterward, actually place all white people on an equality with one another. And this is the staple argument of both the Chief Justice and the Senator for doing this obvious violence to the plain, unmistakable language of the Declaration.

“I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include *all* men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal *in all respects*. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal with ‘certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’ This they said, and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth, that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet, that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the *right*, so that the *enforcement* of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit.”

CHAPTER XII.

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS—THE REMARKABLE DEBATE OF
1858—DEFEATED FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE
BY THE “LITTLE GIANT”—A HOUSE DIVIDED
AGAINST ITSELF CAN NOT STAND.

ALTHOUGH several of Mr. Lincoln's recent speeches established his reputation in his own State as an able reasoner and debater, an orator, perhaps; yet not until 1858 did he gain a national distinction in this way. In the winter of 1857 Mr. Douglas, the champion, if not the author of squatter sovereignty, took it into his head that there was a great discrepancy between the Southern view, embraced by the Administration, and his own on this doctrine.

Popular sovereignty, as it was now called, was to be elevated into a political principle on which its champion hoped to be carried to the pinnacle of his ambition. No man knew better than Mr. Douglas the narrow scope of squatter sovereignty, and the purpose of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. No slaveholder even knew better than he that it was solely designed to further the interests of slavery. In becoming its champion for the South, it is but fair to assume that he acted in good faith. If he did not, he deserved all the odium heaped upon him by

many of his former friends on that side. That he knew that the final workings of the principle would be entirely against slavery, and that he, from the start, regarded it as a politician's shrewd trick designed to do for Abolitionism what the Missouri Compromise Line rendered impossible or impracticable, it is not easy to believe. But the test of squatter sovereignty had not been satisfactory to its authors and supporters. The North was found to have more resources for "squattling" than the South, and the race would be unequal. And this would always be so. The turn the matter had taken was entirely unexpected to the friends of slavery. It was easy enough to convert squatter sovereignty into popular sovereignty. And a very large per cent of Southern politicians held to Mr. Douglas in his broader interpretation and application of the principle. President Buchanan embraced the Southern view of the purposes of the repeal of the Missouri Line, and squatter sovereignty; and this Mr. Douglas opposed, as being contrary to the sense of the whole matter entertained by the mass of the people. Popular sovereignty with him now was a state of affairs in which the majority of the people should untrammelled, unrestrained, honestly carry out their own will in the Territory. Although Mr. Douglas had fully indicated his design to support the action of the Lecompton Convention, he became its leading antagonist among his political associates. The Convention had not come up to his expectations, or the tide against it was greater than that for it. The

arguments of popular sovereignty were pretentious and broad. They looked well on the slave side, and freedom could afford to be so fair. And yet Mr. Douglas's course was bold, and hardly reconcilable to the view that he was wholly selfish, was simply a politician playing for his own glorification. Time will say of this wonderful little man that his last days were his best.

The Republicans were delighted with his opposition to the Administration and Lecompton. They praised him, and even courted him. He was, indeed, claimed as one of them. And Mr. Douglas himself began to dream of what he could accomplish through their aid, if not by a union with them. His Senatorial term was about to expire, and a number of influential Republicans began to advocate the propriety and necessity of his re-election. Eastern Republicans especially declared in favor of the party in Illinois putting nothing in the way of his return. Some Abolitionists, like Horace Greeley and Henry Wilson, were warm in their advocacy of his re-election. But the Illinois Republicans were of a different mind. They would trust him in the party, but not at its head. No little ill-feeling grew out of this state of the case; but the Illinoisans kept on their own way, and were greatly aided in doing so by the action of Mr. Douglas and his old party supporters.

In April, 1858, the Democratic State Convention met at Springfield. Two or three minor State officers were to be nominated, and general arrangements

made for the campaign. The three following were among the resolutions passed without a dissenting voice :—

“Resolved, That a fair application of these principles requires that the Lecompton Constitution should be submitted to a direct vote of the actual inhabitants of Kansas, so that they may vote for or against that instrument before Kansas shall be declared one of the States of this Union; and until it shall be ratified by the people of Kansas at a fair election held for that purpose, the Illinois Democracy are unalterably opposed to the admission of Kansas under that Constitution.

“Resolved, That we heartily approve and sustain the manly, firm, patriotic, and Democratic position of Stephen A. Douglas, Isaac N. Morris, Thomas L. Harris, Aaron Shaw, Robert Smith, and Samuel S. Marshall, the Democratic delegation of Illinois in Congress, upon the question of the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution; and that by their firm and uncompromising devotion to the Democratic principles, and to the cause of justice, right, and the people, they have deserved our admiration, increased, if possible, our confidence in their integrity and patriotism, and merited our warm approbation, our sincere and hearty thanks, and shall receive our earnest support.

“Resolved, That in all things wherein the National Administration sustain and carry out the principles of the Democratic party as expressed in the Cincinnati Platform, and affirmed in these resolutions, it is entitled to and will receive our hearty support.”

In spite of all the efforts of the Administration, Mr. Douglas was now indorsed for re-election to the Senate. The Democracy of Illinois were more faithful to the “Little Giant” than they were to the

Administration, and they were not slow in saying that while the Administration adhered to the Cincinnati Platform, and honestly carried out the known party principles, it could rely upon their support. The Administration had failed, in the convention, to have Mr. Douglas dropped; still there were not wanting men to do its bidding, and these were able during the campaign to start the first schism which had ever occurred in the party in the State.

Long before the meeting of the Republican Convention, Mr. Lincoln began to reflect upon his course. As the United States Senate came near to him, its importance decreased. His thoughts were beyond that, and what he should do at this time should have its object above the Senate. So he concluded, and on this conclusion he acted, against the combined wisdom of his party and family friends. On the 16th of June, the Republicans, one thousand strong, assembled in convention at Springfield. It was soon discovered that there was only one sentiment as to a successor for Mr. Douglas. This sentiment was announced in this brief resolution:—

“That Hon. Abraham Lincoln is our first and only choice for United States Senator, to fill the vacancy about to be created by the expiration of Mr. Douglas’s term of office.”

Mr. Lincoln had his speech ready. It had been carefully, if not prayerfully, prepared. And although he had before written, and did subsequently write much more able speeches, perhaps, none of them

created such consternation among his friends. For some reason, may be with a small degree of respect for the interests and views of others, he did not deem it proper to deliver this speech without consulting his friends. In his own office, Mr. Lincoln first read the speech to his "fanatical" partner, who considered it extreme beyond all his expectations, and who, although he regarded it impolitic at the time, recommended its use unmodified. Ten or more of his political backers were then assembled in the library of the State House, and to them also he read the proposed speech. And not one of them approved either its spirit or its language. And especially did they oppose the startling announcement that "a house divided against itself can not stand." Had it been in the pulpit, all of them would have accepted this doctrine without a murmur, but here they even declared it was untrue, with the inferences Mr. Lincoln drew from it. Here seemed to be a serious dilemma. But there was none, in fact, so far as Mr. Lincoln was concerned. Up to this time, and especially in his legislative days, he had gone upon the principle that the legislator, the public officer, was but the servant and executor of the will of the people. And in his argument in support of General Taylor's views of the President's veto power, this principle was his main reliance. What Congress should determine and desire, that the President should do. So in first setting out as a politician, he had said substantially that what he knew before or could ascertain to be the will of his constituents, he

would do, and where he did not have the opportunity to know their will, he would act as his reason should enable him to judge of the popular demands. The case was different now. His principle had changed. When all his friends, virtually the whole party with all its interests, had protested against his speech, against the course he was about to take, as entirely opposed to their will and what they believed to be the ordinary welfare of the party, he simply said:—

“I have thought, friends, about this matter a great deal, have weighed the question well from all corners, and am thoroughly convinced the time has come when it should be uttered; and if it must be that I must go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to truth, die in the advocacy of what is right and just. This Nation can not live on injustice, ‘a house divided against itself can not stand,’ I say again and again.”

Here is the first glimpse of the self-constituted martyr. He did not seem to consider directly any interests but his own. If he should die for a truth, it did not matter that the party be dragged down with him. At least this kind of construction may be placed upon his conduct. The standard-bearer of a party is supposed to represent as perfectly as possible its principles and purposes, and this it has a right to demand.

But Mr. Lincoln held out against the advice of his counselors, and delivered the speech which they thought would kill him, and materially injure the young party, in the Hall of the House of Representatives on the night of the 17th of June, 1858. It was

received as was expected by the large audience, and the party leaders at once began to mourn this piece of misfortune. They thought that at the very outset Mr. Lincoln had given the race to the enemy. Even the Abolitionists were amazed. The mass of Republicans were not prepared for the inevitable conflict portrayed in Mr. Lincoln's speech, nor did they think it a true picture; and if it were so, they saw no propriety or necessity of inaugurating it in a mere Senatorial contest. Mrs. Lincoln and all the family friends joined in the cry that this foolish and impolitic speech was fatal to the party and forever fatal to the hopes of its author. It was a mistake, a sad mistake! But to all this Mr. Lincoln only answered: "You may think that speech was a mistake; but I never have believed it was, and you will see the day when you will consider it the wisest thing I ever said."

William H. Herndon, the man who took a pride in being called a fanatic, alone stood up for the speech, and said it would make Mr. Lincoln President. There is where lay the whole secret of the speech. As will clearly appear after a little, Mr. Lincoln was preparing for a contest worth a thousand of this. He was willing to be defeated for the Senate, if he could secure the White House. He thought better of himself and his prospects than his party did. With greater depth and precision than any of the party leaders, perhaps, he read the future. He had got into the shadow of coming events. And his ability and willingness to paint their certainty would give him the precedence eventually, and deepen the inter-

est and faith of men in him, even of those who were loudest in predicting his ruin and lamenting his great error.

The rapidity of the growth of public sentiment was, indeed, fully up to his calculations, and his sayings soon began to be really "household words." Mr. Seward was now the most advanced, but able and politic of all the Republican leaders, and the known choice of the party for the Presidency. The contest Mr. Lincoln was about entering upon he had determined should introduce him to the Nation. And in the preparation of his first speech he had his eye on Mr. Seward. With some great aphorism he would appeal to all men and place himself on an eminence yet unreached by Mr. Seward; and in the course of the campaign he hoped to be able to provide for Mr. Douglas.

It is hard to accuse this plain, honest, unpretending, good man of schemes of personal ambition, untempered and uncontrolled by patriotic motives or esteem for the highest welfare of his fellow-men. To say that Mr. Lincoln had not these sentiments uppermost at this very juncture, would be to acknowledge him possessed of more than human foresight as to the progress of human events.

Lamon says that to the lament of old Dr. Long, Mr. Lincoln replied: "If I had to draw a pen across, and erase my whole life from existence, and I had one poor gift of choice left, as to what I should save from the wreck, I should choose that speech, and leave it to the world unerased." And referring to

the "house-divided-against-itself" feature of this bold initial speech of the campaign, he is represented as saying to Mr. Herndon: "I would rather be defeated with this expression in the speech, and held up and discussed before the people, than to be victorious without it." Here now sink the man and his ambition, and rise to sight the patriot and the unselfish friend of his kind. In this light, however deep, pure and beautiful it may really have been, is the life of this interesting man illuminated from this on to the sad end.

The campaign of 1858, although one of the most remarkable ever made in this country, attracting more universal attention than any such ever has done, and ending in a triumph (but not an election) to Mr. Lincoln, was yet, in many respects, painful to him. From the first, his friends urged him to explain his nomination speech, which he really did to some extent during the debate. He felt that Mr. Douglas's advantages of wide and deserved distinction were greatly against him; and more than all he felt that he was going before the people, and bearing them on to a destiny inevitable, although he should fall in the task. But he did not shrink. His conduct was manly to the highest degree throughout; his temper and equanimity admirable in the extreme; his language pure, and shorn of objectionable story; and his manner and sentiments dignified and statesman-like. The gold in his rough nature now came to the surface; its quality was appreciated; and the world has never ceased from that day, and never will cease

until time itself is no more, to admire, applaud, and venerate the character of Abraham Lincoln, viewed as a whole, or, indeed, in most of its aspects.

HOUSE-DIVIDED-AGAINST-ITSELF SPEECH,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 17, 1858, AT THE CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

“GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION,—If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far on into the fifth year since a policy was initiated, with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. ‘A house divided against itself can not stand.’ I believe this Government can not endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new—North as well as South.

“Have we no tendency to the latter condition? Let any one who doubts, carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery, so to speak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted, but also let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can—or rather fail, if he can, to trace—the evidences of design and concert of action among its chief master-workers from the beginning.

“But, so far, Congress only had acted; and an indorsement by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable to save the point already gained, and give chance for more. The new year

of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State constitutions, and from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition. Four days later commenced the struggle, which ended in repealing that Congressional prohibition. This opened all the national territory to slavery, and was the first point gained.

“This necessity had not been overlooked, but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of ‘squatter sovereignty,’ otherwise called ‘sacred right of self-government,’ which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: that if any one man choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object. That argument was incorporated into the Nebraska Bill itself, in the language which follows: ‘It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.’

“Then opened the roar of loose declamation in favor of ‘squatter sovereignty,’ and ‘sacred right of self-government.’

“‘But,’ said opposition members, ‘let us be more specific—let us amend the bill so as to expressly declare that the people of the Territory may exclude slavery.’ ‘Not we,’ said the friends of the measure; and down they voted the amendment.

“While the Nebraska Bill was passing through Congress, a law case, involving the question of a negro’s freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free State and then a Territory covered by the Congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave—for a long time in each—was passing through the United States Circuit Court for the District of Missouri; and both the Nebraska Bill and lawsuit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The negro’s name was ‘Dred Scott,’ which name now designates the decision finally made in the case.

“Before the then next Presidential election the law case came to, and was argued in, the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the

election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requested the leading advocate of the Nebraska Bill to state his opinion whether a people of a Territory can Constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answers: 'That is a question for the Supreme Court.'

"The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the indorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The indorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory. The outgoing President in his last annual message, as impressively as possible, echoed back upon the people the weight and authority of the indorsement.

"The Supreme Court met again; did not announce their decision, but ordered a re-argument. The Presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the incoming President, in his Inaugural Address, fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, whatever it might be. Then in a few days came the decision.

"This was the third point gained.

"The reputed author of the Nebraska Bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capital, indorsing the Dred Scott decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it. The new President, too, seizes the early occasion of the Silliman letters to indorse and strongly construe that decision, and to express his astonishment that any different view had ever been entertained. At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska Bill on the mere question of fact, whether the Lecompton Constitution was, or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that squabble, the latter declares that all he wants is a fair vote for the people, and that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up. I do not understand his declaration, that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up, to be intended by him other than as an apt definition of the policy he would impress upon the public mind—the principle for which he declares he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer to the end.

"And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any

parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision, 'squatter sovereignty' squatted out of existence, tumbled down like temporary scaffolding—like the mold at the foundry, served through one blast, and fell back into loose sand—helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. His late joint struggle with the Republicans against the Lecompton Constitution involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point—the right of a people to make their own constitution—upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

"The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas's 'care-not' policy, constitute the piece of machinery in its present state of advancement. The working points of that machinery are:—

"First. That no negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such, can ever be a citizen of any State in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

"This point is made in order to deprive the negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of this provision of the United States Constitution, which declares that: 'The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.'

"Secondly. That, 'subject to the Constitution of the United States,' neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature can exclude slavery from any United States Territory.

"This point is made in order that individual men may fill up the Territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future.

"Thirdly. That whether the holding a negro in actual slavery in a free State makes him free, as against the holder, the United States Courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any Slave State the negro may be forced into by the master.

"This point is made, not to be pressed immediately; but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently indorsed by the people at an election, then, to sustain the logical conclusion that

what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott, in the Free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other one, or one thousand slaves, in Illinois, or in any other Free State.

"Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to educate and mold public opinion, at least Northern public opinion, not to care whether slavery is voted down or voted up.

"This shows exactly where we now are, and partially, also, whither we are tending.

"It will throw additional light on the latter, to go back, and run the mind over the string of historical facts already stated. Several things will now appear less dark and mysterious than they did when they were transpiring. The people were to be left 'perfectly free,' 'subject only to the Constitution.' What the Constitution had to do with it, outsiders could not then see. Plainly enough now, it was an exactly fitted niche for the Dred Scott decision afterward to come in, and declare that perfect freedom of the people to be just no freedom at all.

"Why was the amendment, expressly declaring the right of the people to exclude slavery, voted down? Plainly enough now, the adoption of it would have spoiled the niche for the Dred Scott decision.

"Why was the court decision held up? Why even a Senator's individual opinion withheld till after the Presidential election? Plainly enough now, the speaking out then would have damaged the '*perfectly free*' argument upon which the election was to be carried.

"Why the outgoing President's felicitation on the indorsement? Why the delay of a re-argument? Why the incoming President's advance exhortation in favor of the decision? These things look like the cautious patting and petting of a spirited horse, preparatory to mounting him, when it is dreaded that he may give the rider a fall. And why the hasty after-indorsements of the decision by the President and others?

"We can not absolutely know that all these exact adaptations are the result of pre-concert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been

gotten out at different times and places, and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding; or, if a single piece be lacking, we can see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in—in such case, we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck.

“It should not be overlooked that, by the Nebraska Bill, the people of a State, as well as Territory, were to be left ‘*perfectly free,*’ ‘*subject only to the Constitution.*’ Why mention a State? They were legislating for Territories, and not for or about States. Certainly the people of a State are and ought to be subject to the Constitution of the United States; but why is mention of this lugged into this merely Territorial law? Why are the people of a Territory and the people of a State therein lumped together, and their relation to the Constitution therein treated as being precisely the same?

“While the opinion of the Court, by Chief-Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, and the separate opinions of all the concurring judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a Territorial Legislature to exclude slavery from any United States Territory, they all omit to declare whether or not the same Constitution permits a State, or the people of a State, to exclude it. *Possibly* this was a mere *omission*; but who can be quite sure, if McLean or Curtis had sought to get into the opinion a declaration of unlimited power in the people of a State to exclude slavery from their limits, just as Chase and Mace sought to get such declaration in behalf of the people of a Territory into the Nebraska Bill—I ask, who can be quite sure that it would not have been voted down in the one case as it had been in the other?

“The nearest approach to the point of declaring the power

of a State over slavery is made by Judge Nelson. He approaches it more than once, using the precise idea, and almost the language, too, of the Nebraska Act. On one occasion his exact language is, 'Except in cases where the power is restrained by the Constitution of the United States, the law of the State is supreme over the subject of slavery within its jurisdiction.'

"In what cases the power of the State is so restrained by the United States Constitution, is left an open question, precisely as the same question, as to the restraint on the power of the Territories, was left open in the Nebraska Act. Put that and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a State to exclude slavery from its limits. And this may especially be expected if the doctrine of 'care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up,' shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.

"Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States. Welcome or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown. We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free; and we shall awake to the reality, instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a Slave State.

"To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation. That is what we have to do. But how can we best do it?

"There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper softly, that Senator Douglas is the *aptest* instrument there is, with which to effect that object. They do not tell us, nor has he told us, that he wishes any such object to be effected. They wish us to infer all, from the facts that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty, and that he has regularly voted with us on a single point upon which he and we have never differed.

"They remind us that *he* is a very *great man*, and that the

largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But 'a *living dog* is better than a *dead lion*.' Judge Douglas, if not a *dead lion* for this work, is at least a *caged* and *toothless* one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery? He does n't care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the 'public heart' to care nothing about it.

"A leading Douglas Democratic newspaper thinks Douglas's superior talent will be needed to resist the revival of the African slave-trade. Does Douglas believe an effort to revive that trade is approaching? He has not said so. Does he *really* think so? But if it is, how can he resist it? For years he has labored to prove it a *sacred right* of white men to take negro slaves into the new Territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? And, unquestionably, they can be bought cheaper in Africa than in Virginia.

"He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property; and, as such, how can he oppose the foreign slave-trade—how can he refuse that trade in that 'property' shall be 'perfectly free,' unless he does it as a *protection* to the home production? And as the home *producers* will probably not ask the protection, he will be wholly without a ground of opposition.

"Senator Douglas holds, we know, that a man may rightfully be wiser to-day than he was yesterday; that he may rightfully change when he finds himself wrong. But can we, for that reason, run ahead and infer that he will make any particular change, of which he himself has given no intimation? Can we safely base our action upon any such vague inferences?

"Now, as ever, I wish not to misrepresent Judge Douglas's position, question his motives, or do aught that can be personally offensive to him. Whenever, *if ever*, he and we can come together on *principle*, so that our great cause may have assistance from his great ability, I hope to have interposed no adventitious obstacle.

"But, clearly, he is not now with us; he does not pretend to be; he does not promise ever to be. Our cause, then, must be intrusted to, and conducted by its own undoubted friends—

those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work—who do care for the result.

“Two years ago the Republicans of the Nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then to falter now?—*now*—when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered, and belligerent?

“The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail; if we stand firm, we shall not fail. *Wise counsels may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but, sooner or later, the victory is sure to come.*”

On the 9th of July, Mr. Douglas appeared at Chicago, and between the two halves of a very showy and noisy reception made an artful political speech, in which he examined Mr. Lincoln's nomination speech with fullness, but not always with that kind of fairness and sincerity which wears well in the reading, or holds good in a historical examination.

Mr. Lincoln was present, and on the next evening replied in one of the most simple and beautiful speeches to be found in the whole history of partisan contests in this country. Some very trivial and insincere charges made against him by Mr. Douglas were refuted, and his “house-divided-against-itself speech” explained all that it could and should have been for the benefit of his frightened and timid friends. The following extracts are from this speech:—

“I am not, in the first place, unaware that this Government has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free. I know that. I am tolerably well acquainted with the history of

the country, and I know that it has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free. I *believe*—and that is what I meant to allude to there—I *believe* it has endured, because during all that time, until the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, the public mind did rest all the time in the belief that slavery was in course of ultimate extinction. That was what gave us the rest that we had through that period of eighty-two years; at least, so I believe. I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any Abolitionist—I have been an Old-line Whig—I have always hated it, but I have always been quiet about it until this new era of the introduction of the Nebraska Bill began. I always believed that everybody was against it, and that it was in course of ultimate extinction. (Pointing to Mr. Browning, who stood near by.) Browning thought so; the great mass of the Nation have rested in the belief that slavery was in course of ultimate extinction. They had reason so to believe.

“The adoption of the Constitution and its attendant history led the people to believe so; and that such was the belief of the framers of the Constitution itself, why did those old men, about the time of the adoption of the Constitution, decree that slavery should not go into the new territory where it had not already gone? Why declare that within twenty years the African slave-trade, by which slaves are supplied, might be cut off by Congress? Why were all these acts? I might enumerate more of these acts; but enough. What were they but a clear indication that the framers of the Constitution intended and expected the ultimate extinction of that institution? And now, when I say, as I said in my speech that Judge Douglas has quoted from, when I say that I think the opponents of slavery will resist the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest with the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, I only mean to say that they will place it where the founders of this Government originally placed it.

“I have said a hundred times, and I have now no inclination to take it back, that I believe there is no right, and ought to be no inclination in the people of the Free States to enter into the Slave States, and interfere with the question of slavery at all. I have said that always; Judge Douglas has heard me

say it, if not quite a hundred times, at least as good as a hundred times; and when it is said that I am in favor of interfering with slavery where it exists, I know it is unwarranted by anything I have ever *intended*, and, as I believe, by anything I have ever *said*. If, by any means, I have ever used language which could fairly be so construed (as, however, I believe I never have) I now correct it.

“So much, then, for the inference that Judge Douglas draws, that I am in favor of setting the sections at war with one another. I know that I never meant any such thing, and I believe that no fair mind can infer any such thing from anything I have ever said.

“Now in relation to his inference that I am in favor of a general consolidation of all the local institutions of the various States. I will attend to that for a little while, and try to inquire, if I can, how on earth it could be that any man could draw such an inference from anything I said. I have said very many times, in Judge Douglas’s hearing, that no man believed more than I in the principle of self-government; that it lies at the bottom of all my ideas of just government, from beginning to end. I have denied that his use of that term applies properly. But for the thing itself, I deny that any man has ever gone ahead of me in his devotion to the principle, whatever he may have done in efficiency in advocating it. I think that I have said it in your hearing, that I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man’s rights; that each community, as a State, has a right to do exactly as it pleases with all the concerns within that State that interfere with the right of no other State, and that the General Government, upon principle, has no right to interfere with anything other than that general class of things that does concern the whole. I have said that at all times. I have said, as illustrations, that I do not believe in the right of Illinois to interfere with the cranberry laws of Indiana, the oyster laws of Virginia, or the liquor laws of Maine. I have said these things over and over again, and I repeat them here as my sentiments.

“How is it, then, that Judge Douglas infers, because I

hope to see slavery put where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, that I am in favor of Illinois going over and interfering with the cranberry laws of Indiana? What can authorize him to draw any such inference? I suppose there might be one thing that at least enabled *him* to draw such an inference that would not be true with me or many others, that is, because he looks upon all this matter of slavery as an exceedingly little thing—this matter of keeping one sixth of the population of the whole nation in a state of oppression and tyranny unequaled in the world. He looks upon it as being an exceedingly little thing; only equal to the question of the cranberry laws of Indiana; as something having no moral question in it; as something on a par with the question of whether a man shall pasture his land with cattle or plant it with tobacco; so little and so small a thing, that he concludes, if I could desire that if anything should be done to bring about the ultimate extinction of that little thing, I must be in favor of bringing about an amalgamation of all the other little things in the Union. Now, it so happens—and there, I presume, is the foundation of this mistake—that the Judge thinks thus; and it so happens that there is a vast portion of the American people that do *not* look upon that matter as being this very little thing. They look upon it as a vast moral evil; they can prove it as such by the writings of those who gave us the blessings of liberty which we enjoy, and that they so looked upon it, and not as an evil merely confining itself to the States where it is situated; and while we agree that by the Constitution we assented to it, in the States where it exists we have no right to interfere with it, because it is in the Constitution; and we are by both duty and inclination to stick by that Constitution, in all its letter and spirit, from beginning to end.

“So much then as to my disposition—my wish—to have all the State Legislatures blotted out, and to have one consolidated government, and a uniformity of domestic regulations in all the States; by which I suppose it is meant, if we raise corn here, we must make sugar-cane grow here too, and we must make those which grow North grow in the South. All this, I suppose, he understands I am in favor of doing. Now, so

much for all this nonsense—for I must call it so. The Judge can have no issue with me on a question of establishing uniformity in the domestic regulations of the States.

“A little now on the other point, the Dred Scott decision. Another of the issues, he says, that is to be made with me, is upon his devotion to the Dred Scott decision, and my opposition to it.

“I have expressed heretofore, and I now repeat, my opposition to the Dred Scott decision; but I should be allowed to state the nature of that opposition, and I ask your indulgence while I do so. What is fairly implied by the term Judge Douglas has used, ‘resistance to the decision?’ I do not resist it. If I wanted to take Dred Scott from his master, I would be interfering with property, and that terrible difficulty that Judge Douglas speaks of, of interfering with property would arise. But I am doing no such thing as that, but all that I am doing is refusing to obey it as a political rule. If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new Territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should.

“That is what I would do. Judge Douglas said, last night, that before the decision he might advance his opinion, and it might be contrary to the decision when it was made; but after it was made he would abide by it until it was reversed. Just so! We let this property abide by the decision, but we will try to reverse that decision. We will try to put it where Judge Douglas would not object, for he says he will obey it until it is reversed. Somebody has to reverse that decision, since it is made, and we mean to reverse it, and we mean to do it peaceably.

“What are the uses of decisions of courts? They have two uses. As rules of property they have two uses. First, they decide upon the question before the court. They decide in this case that Dred Scott is a slave. Nobody resists that. Not only that, but they say to everybody else, that persons standing just as Dred Scott stands, is as he is. That is, they say that when a question comes up upon another person, it will be so decided again, unless the court decides in another way, unless the court overrules its decision. Well, we mean to do what we

can to have the court decide the other way. That is one thing we mean to try to do.

“The sacredness that Judge Douglas throws around this decision is a degree of sacredness that has never been before thrown around any other decision. I have never heard of such a thing. Why, decisions apparently contrary to that decision, or that good lawyers thought were contrary to that decision, have been made by that very court before. It is the first of its kind; it is an astonisher in legal history. It is a new wonder of the world. It is based upon falsehood in the main as to the facts; allegations of facts upon which it stands are not facts at all in many instances; and no decision made on any question—the first instance of a decision made under so many unfavorable circumstances—thus placed, has ever been held by the profession as law, and it has always needed confirmation before the lawyers regarded it as settled law. But Judge Douglas will have it that all hands must take this extraordinary decision, made under these extraordinary circumstances, and give their vote in Congress in accordance with it, yield to it, and obey it in every possible sense. Circumstances alter cases. Do not gentlemen here remember the case of that same Supreme Court, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, deciding that a national bank was Constitutional? I ask, if somebody does not remember that a national bank was declared to be Constitutional? Such is the truth, whether it be remembered or not. The bank charter ran out, and a recharter was granted by Congress. That recharter was laid before General Jackson. It was urged upon him, when he denied the Constitutionality of the bank, that the Supreme Court had decided that it was Constitutional; and that General Jackson then said that the Supreme Court had no right to lay down a rule to govern a co-ordinate branch of the Government, the members of which had sworn to support the Constitution; that each member had sworn to support that Constitution, as he understood it. I will venture here to say that I have heard Judge Douglas say that he approved of General Jackson for that act. What has now become of all his tirade about ‘resistance to the Supreme Court?’

“My fellow-citizens, getting back a little, for I pass from

these points, when Judge Douglas makes his threat of annihilation upon the 'alliance,' he is cautious to say that that warfare of his is to fall upon the leaders of the Republican party. Almost every word he utters, and every distinction he makes, has its significance. He means for the Republicans, who do not count themselves as leaders, to be his friends; he makes no fuss over them; it is the leaders that he is making war upon. He wants it understood that the mass of the Republican party are really his friends. It is only the leaders that are doing something, that are intolerant, and that require extermination at his hands. As this is clearly and unquestionably the light in which he presents that matter, I want to ask your attention, addressing myself to the Republicans here, that I may ask you some questions, as to where you, as the Republican party, would be placed if you sustained Judge Douglas in his present position by a re-election? I do not claim, gentlemen, to be unselfish; I do not pretend that I would not like to go to the United States Senate: I make no such hypocritical pretense; but I do say to you that in this mighty issue, it is nothing to you—nothing to the mass of the people of the Nation—whether or not Judge Douglas or myself shall ever be heard of after this night; it may be a trifle to either of us, but in connection with this mighty question, upon which hangs the destinies of the Nation, perhaps, it is absolutely nothing; but where will you be placed if you reindorse Judge Douglas? Do n't you know how apt he is, how exceedingly anxious he is, at all times to seize upon anything and everything to persuade you that something *he* has done *you* did yourselves? Why, he tried to persuade you last night that our Illinois Legislature instructed him to introduce the Nebraska Bill. There was nobody in that Legislature ever thought of such thing; and when he first introduced the bill, he never thought of it; but still he fights furiously for the proposition, and that he did it because there was a standing instruction to our Senators to be always introducing Nebraska bills. He tells you he is for the Cincinnati Platform; he tells you he is for the Dred Scott decision. He tells you, not in his speech last night, but substantially in a former speech, that he cares not if slavery is voted up or down. He tells you the struggle on Lecompton is past; it may

come up again or not, and if it does, he stands where he stood when, in spite of him and his opposition, you built up the Republican party. If you indorse him, you tell him you do not care whether slavery be voted up or down, and he will close, or try to close, your mouths with his declaration, repeated by the day, the week, the month, and the year. Is that what you mean? (Cries of 'no,' one voice 'yes.') Yes; I have no doubt you have always been for him, if you mean that. No doubt of that, soberly I have said, and I repeat it. I think, in the position in which Judge Douglas stood in opposing the Le-compton Constitution, he was right; he does not know that it will return, but if it does we may know where to find him; and if it does not, we may know where to look for him, and that is on the Cincinnati Platform. Now, I could ask the Republican party, after all the hard names that Judge Douglas has called them by; all his repeated charges of their inclination to marry with and hug negroes; all his declarations of Black Republicanism—by the way, we are improving; the black has got rubbed off—but with all that, if he be indorsed by Republican votes, where do you stand? Plainly, you stand ready saddled, bridled, and harnessed, and waiting to be driven over to the slavery extension camp of the nation—just ready to be driven over, tied together in a lot—to be driven over, every man with a rope around his neck, that halter being held by Judge Douglas. That is the question. If Republican men have been in earnest in what they have done, I think they had better not do it; but I think that the Republican party is made up of those who, as far as they can peaceably, will oppose the extension of slavery, and who will hope for its ultimate extinction. If they believe it is wrong in grasping up the new lands of the continent, and keeping them from the settlement of free white laborers, who want the land to bring up their families upon; if they are in earnest, although they may make a mistake, they will grow restless, and the time will come when they will come back again and reorganize, if not by the same name, at least upon the same principles as their party now has. It is better, then, to save the work while it is begun. You have done the labor; maintain it—keep it. If men choose to serve you, go with them; but as you have made up your organization upon

principle, stand by it; for, as surely as God reigns over you, and has inspired your mind, and given you a sense of propriety, and continues to give you hope, so surely will you still cling to these ideas, and you will at last come back again after your wanderings, merely to do your work over again.

“We were often—more than once, at least—in the course of Judge Douglas’s speech last night, reminded that this Government was made for white men; that he believed it was made for white men. Well, that is putting it into a shape in which no one wants to deny it; but the Judge then goes into his passion for drawing inferences that are not warranted. I protest, now and forever, against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I did not want a negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I need not have her for either; but, as God made us separate, we can leave one another alone, and do one another much good thereby. There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and enough black men to marry all the black women, and in God’s name let them be so married. The Judge regales us with the terrible enormities that take place by the mixture of races; that the inferior race bears the superior down. Why, Judge, if we do not let them get together in the Territories they won’t mix there. I should say at least that that is a self-evident truth.

“Now, it happens that we meet together once every year, sometimes about the 4th of July, for some reason or other. These 4th of July gatherings, I suppose, have their uses. If you will indulge me, I will state what I suppose to be some of them.

“We are now a mighty nation; we are thirty, or about thirty, millions of people, and we own and inhabit about one-fifteenth part of the dry land of the whole earth. We run our memory back over the pages of history for about eighty-two years, and we discover that we were then a very small people in point of numbers, vastly inferior to what we are now, with a vastly less extent of country, with vastly less of everything we deem desirable among men; we look upon the change as exceedingly advantageous to us and to our posterity, and we fix upon something that happened away back, as in some way or other

being connected with this rise of prosperity. We find a race of men living in that day whom we claim as our fathers and grandfathers. They were iron men; they fought for the principle that they were contending for; and we understood that by what they then did it has followed that the degree of prosperity which we now enjoy has come to us. We hold this annual celebration to remind ourselves of all the good done in this process of time, of how it was done and who did it, and how we are historically connected with it; and we go from these meetings in better humor with ourselves; we feel more attached the one to the other, and more firmly bound to the country we inhabit. In every way we are better men in the age, and race, and country in which we live, for these celebrations. But after we have done all this we have not yet reached the whole. There is something else connected with it. We have besides these, men—descended by blood from our ancestors—among us, perhaps half our people, who are not descendants at all of these men. They are men who have come from Europe—German, Irish, French, and Scandinavian—men that have come from Europe themselves, or whose ancestors have come hither and settled here, finding themselves our equals in all things. If they look back through this history to trace their connection with those days by blood, they find they have none; they can not carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel that they are part of us; but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence, they find that those old men say that ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,’ and then they feel that that moral sentiment taught in that day evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh, of the men who wrote that Declaration; and so they are. That is the electric cord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world.

“Now, sirs, for the purpose of squaring things with this idea of ‘do n’t care if slavery is voted up or voted down,’ for sustain-

ing the Dred Scott decision, for holding that the Declaration of Independence did not mean anything at all, we have Judge Douglas giving his exposition of what the Declaration of Independence means, and we have him saying that the people of America are equal to the people of England. According to his construction, you Germans are not connected with it. Now I ask you in all soberness if all these things, if indulged in, if ratified, if confirmed and indorsed, if taught to our children, and repeated to them, do not tend to rub out the sentiment of liberty in the country, and to transform this Government into a government of some other form? Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying, that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of king-craft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument, and this argument of the Judge is the same old serpent that says, You work and I eat, you toil and I will enjoy the fruits of it. Turn in whatever way you will, whether it come from the mouth of a king, an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent; and I hold if that course of argumentation that is made for the purpose of convincing the public mind that we should not care about this, should be granted, it does not stop with the negro. I should like to know if, taking the old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? If that declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute-book in which we find it, and tear it out. Who is so bold as to do it? If it is not true, let us tear it out! (Cries of 'No, no!') Let us stick to it, then; let us stand firmly by it, then."

Mr. Douglas next spoke at Bloomington, and Lincoln was again present to hear him. On the 17th of July Douglas and Lincoln both spoke at Springfield, neither hearing the other; the former speaking in a grove to thousands of enthusiastic Democrats, and the latter in the State House at night. The following is Mr. Lincoln's speech:—

“FELLOW-CITIZENS,—Another election, which is deemed an important one, is approaching, and, as I suppose, the Republicans will, without much difficulty, elect their State ticket. But in regard to the Legislature, we, the Republicans, labor under some disadvantages. In the first place, we have a Legislature to elect upon an apportionment of the representation made several years ago, when the proportion of the population was far greater in the South (as compared with the North) than it now is; and, inasmuch as our opponents hold almost entire sway, in the South, and we a correspondingly large majority in the North, the fact that we are now to be represented as we were years ago, when the population was different, is, to us, a very great disadvantage. We had in the year 1855, according to law, a census or enumeration of the inhabitants taken for the purpose of a new apportionment of representation. We know what a fair apportionment of representation upon that census would give us. We know that it could not, if fairly made, fail to give the Republican party from six to ten more members of the Legislature than they can probably get as the law now stands. It so happened at the last session of the Legislature, that our opponents, holding the control of both branches of the Legislature, steadily refused to give us such an apportionment as we were rightly entitled to have upon the census already taken. The Legislature steadily refused to give us such an apportionment as we were rightfully entitled to have upon the census taken of the population of the State. The Legislature would pass no bill upon that subject, except such as was at least as unfair to us as the old one, and in which, in some instances, two men in the Democratic regions were allowed to

go as far toward sending a member to the Legislature as three were in the Republican regions. Comparison was made at the time as to representative and senatorial districts, which completely demonstrated that such was the fact. Such a bill was passed and tendered to the Republican Governor for his signature; but principally for the reasons I have stated, he withheld his approval, and the bill fell without becoming a law.

“Another disadvantage under which we labor is, that there are one or two Democratic Senators who will be members of the next Legislature, and will vote for the election of Senator, who are holding over in districts in which we could, on all reasonable calculation, elect men of our own, if we only had the chance of an election. When we consider that there are but twenty-five Senators in the Senate, taking two from the side where they rightfully belong and adding them to the other, is to us a disadvantage not to be lightly regarded. Still, so it is; we have this to contend with. Perhaps there is no ground of complaint on our part. In attending to the many things involved in the last general election for President, Governor, Auditor, Treasurer, Superintendent of Public Instruction, members of Congress, of the Legislature, county officers, and so on, we allowed these things to happen by want of sufficient attention, and we have no cause to complain of our adversaries, so far as this matter is concerned. But we have some cause to complain of the refusal to give us a fair apportionment.

“There is still another disadvantage under which we labor, and to which I will ask your attention. It arises out of the relative positions of the two persons who stand before the State as candidates for the Senate. Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships, and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they can not, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the

charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions beyond what, even in the days of his highest prosperity, they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages, all taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principle alone. I am, in a certain sense, made the standard-bearer in behalf of the Republicans. I was made so merely because there had to be some one so placed; I being in nowise preferable to any other one of the twenty-five, perhaps a hundred, we have in the Republican ranks. Then, I say, I wish it to be distinctly understood and borne in mind that we have to fight this battle without many—perhaps without any—of the external aids which are brought to bear against us. So I hope those with whom I am surrounded have principle enough to nerve themselves for the task, and leave nothing undone, that can be fairly done, to bring about the right result.

“After Senator Douglas left Washington, as his movements were made known by public prints, he tarried a considerable time in the city of New York; and it was heralded that, like another Napoleon, he was lying by and framing the plan of his campaign. It was telegraphed to Washington City, and published in the ‘Union,’ that he was framing his plan for the purpose of going to Illinois to pounce upon and annihilate the treasonable and disunion speech which Lincoln had made here on the 16th of June. Now, I do suppose that the Judge really spent some time in New York, maturing the plan of the campaign, as his friends heralded for him. I have been able, by noting his movements since his arrival in Illinois, to discover evidences confirmatory of that allegation. I think I have been able to see what are the material points of that plan. I will, for a little while, ask your attention to some of them. What I shall point out, though not showing the whole plan, are, nevertheless, the main points, as I suppose.

“They are not very numerous. The first is popular sovereignty. The second and third are attacks upon my speech made

on the 16th of June. Out of these three points—drawing within the range of popular sovereignty the question of the Lecompton constitution—he makes his principal assault. Upon these his successive speeches are substantially one and the same. On this matter of popular sovereignty I wish to be a little careful. Auxiliary to these main points, to be sure, are their thunderings of cannon, their marching and music, their fizzle-gigs and fire-works; but I will not waste time with them. They are but the little trappings of the campaign.

“Coming to the substance—the first point—popular sovereignty. It is to be labeled upon the cars in which he travels; put upon the hacks he rides in; to be flaunted upon the arches he passes under, and the banners which wave over him. It is to be dished up in as many varieties as a French cook can produce soups from potatoes. Now, as this is so great a staple of the plan of the campaign, it is worth while to examine it carefully; and if we examine only a very little, and do not allow ourselves to be misled, we shall be able to see that the whole thing is the most arrant Quixotism that was ever enacted before a community. What is the matter of popular sovereignty? The first thing, in order to understand it, is to get a good definition of what it is, and after that to see how it is applied.

“I suppose almost every one knows that, in this controversy, whatever has been said has had reference to the question of negro slavery. We have not been in a controversy about the right of the people to govern themselves in the *ordinary* matters of domestic concern in the States and Territories. Mr. Buchanan, in one of his late messages (I think when he sent up the Lecompton constitution), urged that the main point to which the public attention had been directed was not in regard to the great variety of small domestic matters, but was directed to the question of negro slavery; and he asserts, that if the people had had a fair chance to vote on that question, there was no reasonable ground of objection in regard to minor questions. Now, while I think that the people had *not* had given, or offered them, a fair chance upon that slavery question, still, if there had been a fair submission to a vote upon that main question, the President's proposition would have been true to the uttermost. Hence, when hereafter I speak of popular

sovereignty, I wish to be understood as applying what I say to the question of slavery only, not to other minor domestic matters of a Territory or a State.

“Does Judge Douglas, when he says that several of the past years of his life have been devoted to the question of ‘popular sovereignty,’ and that all the remainder of his life shall be devoted to it, does he mean to say that he has been devoting his life to securing to the people of the Territories the right to exclude slavery from the Territories? If he means so to say, he means to deceive; because he and every one knows that the decision of the Supreme Court, which he approves and makes especial ground of attack upon me for disapproving, forbids the people of a Territory to exclude slavery. This covers the whole ground, from the settlement of a Territory till it reaches the degree of maturity entitling it to form a State constitution. So far as all that ground is concerned, the Judge is not sustaining popular sovereignty, but absolutely opposing it. He sustains the decision which declares that the popular will of the Territories has no Constitutional power to exclude slavery during their Territorial existence. This being so, the period of time from the first settlement of a Territory till it reaches the point of forming a State constitution, is not the thing that the Judge has fought for, or is fighting for, but, on the contrary, he has fought for, and is fighting for, the thing that annihilates and crushes out that same popular sovereignty.

“Well, so much being disposed of, what is left? Why, he is contending for the right of the people, when they come to make a State constitution, to make it for themselves, and precisely as best suits themselves. I say again, that is Quixotic. I defy contradiction when I declare that the Judge can find no one to oppose him on that proposition. I repeat, there is nobody opposing that proposition on *principle*. Let me not be misunderstood. I know that, with reference to the Lecompton constitution, I may be misunderstood; but when you understand me correctly, my proposition will be true and accurate. Nobody is opposing, or has opposed, the right of the people, when they form a constitution, to form it for themselves. Mr. Buchanan and his friends have not done it; they, too, as well as the Republicans and the Anti-Lecompton Democrats, have

not done it; but, on the contrary, they together have insisted on the right of the people to form a constitution for themselves. The difference between the Buchanan men on the one hand, and the Douglas men and the Republicans on the other, has not been on a question of principle, but on a question of *fact*.

“The dispute was upon the question of fact, whether the Lecompton constitution had been fairly formed by the people or not. Mr. Buchanan and his friends have not contended for the contrary principle any more than the Douglas men or the Republicans. They have insisted that whatever of small irregularities existed in getting up the Lecompton constitution were such as happen in the settlement of all new Territories. The question was, was it a fair emanation of the people? It was a question of fact and not of principle. As to the principle, all were agreed. Judge Douglas voted with the Republicans upon that matter of fact.

“He and they, by their voices and votes, denied that it was a fair emanation of the people. The Administration affirmed that it was. With respect to the evidence bearing upon that question of fact, I readily agree that Judge Douglas and the Republicans had the right on their side, and that the Administration was wrong. But I state again, as a matter of principle, there is no dispute upon the right of a people in a Territory, merging into a State to form a constitution for themselves, without outside interference from any quarter. This being so, what is Judge Douglas going to spend his life for? Is he going to spend his life in maintaining a principle that nobody on earth opposes? Does he expect to stand up in majestic dignity, and go through his *apotheosis* and become a god, in the maintaining of a principle which neither man nor mouse in all God’s creation is opposing? Now, something in regard to the Lecompton constitution more specially; for I pass from this other question of popular sovereignty as the most arrant humbug that has ever been attempted on an intelligent community.

“As to the Lecompton constitution, I have already said that, on the question of fact as to whether it was a fair emanation of the people or not, Judge Douglas, with the Republicans and some Americans, had greatly the argument against the

Administration ; and while I repeat this, I wish to know what there is in the opposition of Judge Douglas to the Lecompton constitution that entitles him to be considered the only opponent to it—as being *par excellence* the very *quintessence* of that opposition. I agree to the rightfulness of his opposition. He in the Senate, and his class of men there, formed the number *three* and no more. In the House of Representatives his class of men—the Anti-Lecompton Democrats—formed a number of about twenty. It took one hundred and twenty to defeat the measure, against one hundred and twelve. Of the votes of that one hundred and twenty, Judge Douglas's friends furnished twenty, to add to which there were six Americans and ninety-four Republicans. I do not say that I am precisely accurate in their numbers, but I am sufficiently so for any use I am making of it.

“Why is it that twenty shall be entitled to all the credit of doing that work, and the hundred none of it? Why, if, as Judge Douglas says, the honor is to be divided, and due credit is to be given to other parties, why is just so much given as is consonant with the wishes, the interests, and advancement of the twenty? My understanding is, when a common job is done, or a common enterprise prosecuted, if I put in five dollars to your one, I have a right to take out five dollars to your one. But he does not so understand it. He declares the dividend of credit for defeating Lecompton upon a basis which seems unprecedented and incomprehensible.

“Let us see. Lecompton in the raw was defeated. It afterward took a sort of cooked-up shape, and was passed in the English bill. It is said by the Judge that the defeat was a good and proper thing. If it was a good thing, why is he entitled to more credit than others, for the performance of that good act, unless there was something in the antecedents of the Republicans that might induce every one to expect them to join in that good work, and at the same time, something leading them to doubt that he would? Does he place his superior claim to credit on the ground that he performed a good act which was never expected of him? He says I have a proneness for quoting Scripture. If I should do so now, it occurs that perhaps he places himself somewhat upon the ground of the parable

of the lost sheep, which went astray upon the mountains, and when the owner of the hundred sheep found the one that was lost, and threw it upon his shoulders, and came home rejoicing, it was said that there was more rejoicing over the one sheep that was lost, and had been found, than over the ninety and nine in the fold. The application is made by the Savior in this parable, thus: 'Verily, I say unto you, there is more rejoicing in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance.'

"And now, if the Judge claims the benefit of this parable, *let him repent*. Let him not come up here and say: 'I am the only just person; and you are the ninety-nine sinners!' *Repentance* before *forgiveness* is a provision of the Christian system, and on that condition alone will the Republicans grant his forgiveness.

"How will he prove that we have ever occupied a different position in regard to the Lecompton constitution, or any principle in it? He says he did not make his opposition on the ground as to whether it was a free or slave constitution, and he would have you understand that the Republicans made their opposition because it ultimately became a slave constitution. To make proof in favor of himself on this point, he reminds us that he opposed Lecompton before the vote was taken declaring whether the State was to be free or slave. But he forgets to say that our Republican Senator, Trumbull, made a speech against Lecompton even before he did.

"Why did he oppose it? Partly, as he declares, because the members of the convention who framed it were not fairly elected by the people; that the people were not allowed to vote unless they had been registered; and that the people of whole counties, in some instances, were not registered. For these reasons he declares the constitution was not an emanation, in any sense, from the people. He also has an additional objection as to the mode of submitting the constitution back to the people. But bearing on the question of whether the delegates were fairly elected, a speech of his, made something more than twelve months ago from this stand, becomes important. It was made a little while before the election of the delegates who made Lecompton. In that speech he declared there was

every reason to hope and believe the election would be fair; and if any one failed to vote, it would be his own culpable fault.

“I, a few days after, made a sort of answer to that speech. In that answer I made, substantially, the very argument with which he combated his Lecompton adversaries in the Senate last winter. I pointed to the facts that the people could not vote without being registered, and that the time for registering had gone by. I commented on it as wonderful that Judge Douglas could be ignorant of these facts, which every one else in the nation so well knew.

“I now pass from popular sovereignty and Lecompton. I may have occasion to refer to one or both.

“When he was preparing his plan of campaign, Napoleon-like, in New York, as appears by two speeches I have heard him deliver since his arrival in Illinois, he gave special attention to a speech of mine, delivered here on the 16th of June last. He says that he carefully read that speech. He told us that at Chicago, a week ago last night, and he repeated it at Bloomington last night. Doubtless he repeated it again to-day, though I did not hear him. In the first two places—Chicago and Bloomington—I heard him; to-day I did not. He said he had carefully examined that speech; *when*, he did not say; but there is no reasonable doubt it was when he was in New York, preparing his plan of campaign. I am glad he did read it carefully. He says it was evidently prepared with great care. I freely admit it was prepared with care. I claim not to be more free from errors than others—perhaps scarcely so much; but I was very careful not to put anything in that speech as a matter of fact, or make any inferences which did not appear to me to be true, and fully warrantable. If I had made any mistake I was willing to be corrected; if I had drawn any inference in regard to Judge Douglas, or any one else, which was not warranted, I was fully prepared to modify it as soon as discovered. I planted myself upon the truth, and the truth only, so far as I knew it, or could be brought to know it.

“Having made that speech with the most kindly feelings toward Judge Douglas, as manifested therein, I was gratified when I found that he had carefully examined it, and had

detected no error of fact, nor any inference against him, nor any misrepresentations, of which he thought fit to complain. In neither of the two speeches I have mentioned did he make any such complaint. I will thank any one who will inform me that he, in his speech to-day, pointed out anything I had stated respecting him as being erroneous. I presume there is no such thing. I have reason to be gratified that the care and caution used in that speech left it so that he, most of all others interested in discovering error, has not been able to point out one thing against him which he could say was wrong. He seizes upon the doctrines he supposes to be included in that speech, and declares that upon them will turn the issues of this campaign. He then quotes, or attempts to quote, from my speech. I will not say that he willfully misquotes, but he does fail to quote accurately. His attempt at quoting is from a passage which I believe I can quote accurately from memory. I shall make the quotation now, with some comments upon it, as I have already said, in order that the Judge shall be left entirely without excuse for misrepresenting me. I do so now, as I hope, for the last time. I do this in great caution, in order that if he repeats his misrepresentation, it shall be plain to all that he does so willfully. If, after all, he still persists, I shall be compelled to reconstruct the course I have marked out for myself, and draw upon such humble resources as I have, for a new course, better suited to the real exigencies of the case. I set out, in this campaign, with the intention of conducting it strictly as a gentleman, in substance at least, if not in the outside polish. The latter I shall never be; but that which constitutes the inside of a gentleman I hope I understand, and am not less inclined to practice than others. It was my purpose and expectation that this canvass would be conducted upon principle, and with fairness upon both sides, and it shall not be my fault if this purpose and expectation shall be given up.

“He charges, in substance, that I invite a war of sections; that I propose all the local institutions of the different States shall become consolidated and uniform. What is there in the language of that speech which expresses such purpose, or bears such construction? I have again and again said that I would not enter into any of the States to disturb the institution of

slavery. Judge Douglas said, at Bloomington, that I used language most able and ingenious for concealing what I really meant; and that, while I had protested against entering into the Slave States, I, nevertheless, did mean to go on the banks of the Ohio and throw missiles into Kentucky, to disturb them in their domestic institutions.

“I said in that speech, and I meant no more, that the institution of slavery ought to be placed in the very attitude where the framers of this Government placed it and left it. I do not understand that the framers of our Constitution left the people of the Free States in the attitude of firing bombs or shells into the Slave States. I was not using that passage for the purpose for which he infers I did use it. I said: ‘We are now far advanced into the fifth year since a policy was created for the avowed object and with the confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease till a crisis shall have been reached and passed. “A house divided against itself can not stand.” I believe that this Government can not endure permanently, half slave and half free. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.’

“Now, you all see, from that quotation, I did not express my *wish* on anything. In that passage I indicated no wish or purpose of my own; I simply expressed my *expectation*. Can not the Judge perceive a distinction between a *purpose* and an *expectation*? I have often expressed an expectation to die, but I never expressed a *wish* to die. I said at Chicago, and now repeat, that I am quite aware this Government has endured half slave and half free for eighty-two years. I understand that little bit of history. I expressed the opinion I did, because I perceived—or thought I perceived—a new set of causes introduced. I did say at Chicago, in my speech there, that I do wish to see the spread of slavery arrested, and to see it placed

where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction. I said that because I supposed, when the public mind shall rest in that belief, we shall have peace on the slavery question. I have believed—and now believe—the public mind did rest on that belief up to the introduction of the Nebraska Bill.

“Although I have ever been opposed to slavery, so far I rested in the hope and belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. For that reason, it had been a minor question with me. I might have been mistaken; but I had believed, and now believe, that the whole public mind—that is, the mind of the great majority—had rested in that belief up to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. But upon that event I became convinced that either I had been resting in a delusion, or the institution was being placed on a new basis—a basis for making it perpetual, national, and universal. Subsequent events have greatly confirmed me in that belief. I believe that bill to be the beginning of a conspiracy for that purpose. So believing, I have since then considered that question a paramount one. So believing, I thought the public mind will never rest till the power of Congress to restrict the spread of it shall again be acknowledged and exercised on the one hand, or on the other all resistance be entirely crushed out. I have expressed that opinion, and I entertain it to-night. It is denied that there is any tendency to the nationalization of slavery in these States.

“Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, in one of his speeches, when they were presenting him canes, silver plate, gold pitchers, and the like, for assaulting Senator Sumner, distinctly affirmed his opinion that when this Constitution was formed, it was the belief of no man that slavery would last to the present day.

“He said, what I think, that the framers of our Constitution placed the institution of slavery where the public mind rested in the hope that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. But he went on to say that the men of the present age, by their experience, have become wiser than the framers of the Constitution; and the invention of the cotton-gin had made the perpetuity of slavery a necessity in this country.

“As another piece of evidence tending to this same point: Quite recently, in Virginia, a man—the owner of slaves—made a will, providing that, after his death, certain of his slaves should have their freedom, if they should so choose, and go to Liberia, rather than remain in slavery. They chose to be liberated. But the persons to whom they would descend as property, claimed them as slaves. A suit was instituted, which finally came to the Supreme Court of Virginia, and was therein decided against the slaves, upon the ground that a negro can not make a choice; that they had no legal power to choose; could not perform the condition upon which their freedom depended.

“I do not mention this with any purpose of criticising it, but to connect it with the arguments as affording additional evidence of the change of sentiment upon this question of slavery in the direction of making it perpetual and national. I argue now, as I did before, that there is such a tendency, and I am backed not merely by the facts, but by the open confession in the Slave States.

“And now, as to the Judge’s inference, that because I wish to see slavery placed in the course of ultimate extinction—placed where our fathers originally placed it—I wish to annihilate the State Legislatures, to force cotton to grow on the tops of the Green Mountains, to freeze ice in Florida, to cut lumber on the broad Illinois prairies, that I am in favor of all these ridiculous and impossible things.

“It seems to me it is a complete answer to all this to ask, if, when Congress did have the fashion of restricting slavery from free territory—when courts did have the fashion of deciding that taking a slave into a free country made him free—I say it is a sufficient answer to ask, if any of this ridiculous nonsense about consolidation and uniformity did actually follow? Who heard of any such thing because of the Ordinance of ’87? because of the Missouri restriction? because of the numerous court decisions of that character?

“Now, as to the Dred Scott decision; for upon that he makes his last point at me. He boldly takes ground in favor of that decision.

“This is one-half the onslaught, and one-third of the entire

plan of the campaign. I am opposed to that decision in a certain sense, but not in the sense which he puts on it. I say that in so far as it decided in favor of Dred Scott's master, and against Dred Scott and his family, I do not propose to disturb or resist the decision.

"I never have proposed to do any such thing. I think that, in respect for judicial authority, my humble history would not suffer in comparison with that of Judge Douglas. He would have the citizen conform his vote to that decision; the member of Congress, his; the President, his use of the veto power. He would make it a rule of political action for the people and all the departments of government. I would not. By resisting it as a political rule, I disturb no right of property, create no disorder, excite no mobs.

"When he spoke at Chicago on Friday evening of last week, he made this same point upon me. On Saturday evening I replied, and reminded him of a Supreme Court decision which he opposed for at least several years. Last night, at Bloomington, he took some notice of that reply; but entirely forgot to remember that part of it.

"He renews his onslaught upon me, forgetting to remember that I have turned the tables against himself on that very point. I renew the effort to draw his attention to it. I wish to stand erect before the country, as well as Judge Douglas, on this question of judicial authority; and, therefore, I add something to the authority in favor of my own position. I wish to show that I am sustained by authority, in addition to that heretofore presented. I do not expect to convince the Judge. It is part of the plan of his campaign, and he will cling to it with a desperate gripe. Even turn it upon him—the sharp point against him, and gaff him through—he will still cling to it till he can invent some new dodge to take the place of it.

"In public speaking, it is tedious reading from documents; but I must beg to indulge the practice to a limited extent. I shall read from a letter written by Mr. Jefferson in 1820, and now to be found in the seventh volume of his correspondence, at page 177. It seems he had been presented by a gentleman of the name of Jarvis with a book, or essay, or periodical,

called the 'Republican,' and he was writing in acknowledgment of the present, and noting some of its contents. After expressing the hope that the work will produce a favorable effect upon the minds of the young, he proceeds to say:

"That it will have this tendency may be expected, and for that reason I feel an urgency to note what I deem an error in it, the more requiring notice as your opinion is strengthened by that of many others. You seem, in pages 84 and 148, to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all Constitutional questions—a very dangerous doctrine, indeed, and one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. Our judges are as honest as other men, and not more so. They have, with others, the same passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps. Their maxim is, "*Boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem*;" and their power is the more dangerous, as they are in office for life, and not responsible, as the other functionaries are, to the elective control. The Constitution has erected no such single tribunal, knowing that, to whatever hands confided, with the corruptions of time and party, its members would become despots. It has more wisely made all the departments coequal and co-sovereign with themselves."

"Thus we see the power claimed for the Supreme Court by Judge Douglas, Mr. Jefferson holds, would reduce us to the despotism of an oligarchy.

"Now, I have said no more than this—in fact, never quite so much as this—at least I am sustained by Mr. Jefferson.

"Let us go a little farther. You remember we once had a national bank. Some one owed the bank a debt; he was sued, and sought to avoid payment on the ground that the bank was unconstitutional. The case went to the Supreme Court, and therein it was decided that the bank was Constitutional. The whole Democratic party revolted against that decision. General Jackson himself asserted that he, as President, would not be bound to hold a national bank to be Constitutional, even though the court had decided it to be so. He fell in precisely with the view of Mr. Jefferson, and acted upon it under his official oath, in vetoing a charter for a national bank. The declaration that Congress does not possess this Constitutional power to charter a bank has gone into the Democratic

Platform at their national conventions, and was brought forward and reaffirmed in their last convention at Cincinnati. They have contended for that declaration, in the very teeth of the Supreme Court, for more than a quarter of a century. In fact, they have reduced the decision to an absolute nullity. That decision, I repeat, is repudiated in the Cincinnati Platform; and still, as if to show that effrontery can go no farther, Judge Douglas vaunts in the very speeches in which he denounces me for opposing the Dred Scott decision, that he stands on the Cincinnati Platform.

“Now, I wish to know what the Judge can charge upon me, with respect to decisions of the Supreme Court, which does not lie in all its length, breadth, and proportions at his own door. The plain truth is simply this: Judge Douglas is *for* Supreme Court decisions when he likes, and against them when he does not like them. He is for the Dred Scott decision because it tends to nationalize slavery; because it is part of the original combination for that object. It so happens, singularly enough, that I never stood opposed to a decision of the Supreme Court till this. On the contrary, I have no recollection that he was ever particularly in favor of one till this. He never was in favor of any, nor opposed to any, till the present one, which helps to nationalize slavery.

“Free men of Sangamon, free men of Illinois, free men everywhere, judge ye between him and me upon this issue.

“He says this Dred Scott case is a very small matter at most; that it has no practical effect; that at best, or rather, I suppose, at worst, it is but an abstraction. I submit that the proposition, that the thing which determines whether a man is free or a slave, is rather *concrete* than *abstract*. I think you would conclude that it was, if your liberty depended upon it; and so would Judge Douglas, if his liberty depended upon it. But suppose it was on the question of spreading slavery over the new Territories that he considers it as being merely an abstract matter, and one of no practical importance. How has the planting of slavery in new countries always been effected? It has now been decided that slavery can not be kept out of our new Territories by any legal means. In what does our new Territories now differ in this respect from the old Colonies

when slavery was first planted within them? It was planted, as Mr. Clay once declared, and as history proves true, by individual men in spite of the wishes of the people; the mother Government refusing to prohibit it, and withholding from the people of the Colonies the authority to prohibit it for themselves. Mr. Clay says this was one of the great and just causes of complaint against Great Britain by the Colonies, and the best apology we can now make for having the institution among us. In that precise condition our Nebraska politicians have at last succeeded in placing our own new Territories: the government will not prohibit slavery within them, nor allow the people to prohibit it.

“I defy any man to find any difference between the policy which originally planted slavery in these Colonies and that policy which now prevails in our new Territories. If it does not go into them, it is only because no individual wishes it to go. The Judge indulged himself, doubtless to-day, with the question as to what I am going to do with or about the Dred Scott decision. Well, Judge, will you please to tell me what you did about the bank decision? Will you not graciously allow us to do with the Dred Scott decision precisely as you did with the bank decision? You succeeded in breaking down the moral effect of that decision; did you find it necessary to amend the Constitution? or to set up a court of negroes in order to do it?

“There is one other point. Judge Douglas has a very affectionate leaning toward the Americans and Old Whigs. Last evening, in a sort of weeping tone, he described to us a death-bed scene. He had been called to the side of Mr. Clay, in his last moments, in order that the genius of ‘popular sovereignty’ might duly descend from the dying man and settle upon him, the living and most worthy successor. He could do no less than promise that he would devote the remainder of his life to ‘popular sovereignty;’ and then the great statesman departs in peace. By this part of the ‘plan of the campaign,’ the Judge has evidently promised himself that tears shall be drawn down the cheeks of all Old Whigs, as large as half-grown apples.

“Mr. Webster, too, was mentioned; but it did not quite come

to a death-bed scene as to him. It would be amusing, if it were not disgusting, to see how quick these compromise-breakers administer on the political effects of their dead adversaries, trumping up claims never before heard of, and dividing the assets among themselves. If I should be found dead to-morrow morning, nothing but my insignificance could prevent a speech being made on my authority, before the end of next week. It so happens that in that 'popular sovereignty' with which Mr. Clay was identified, the Missouri Compromise was expressly reserved; and it was a little singular if Mr. Clay cast his mantle upon Judge Douglas on purpose to have that compromise repealed.

"Again, the Judge did not keep faith with Mr. Clay when he first brought in his Nebraska Bill. He left the Missouri Compromise unrepealed, and in his report accompanying the bill, he told the world he did it on purpose. The manes of Mr. Clay must have been in great agony till thirty days later, when 'popular sovereignty' stood forth in all its glory.

"One more thing. Last night Judge Douglas tormented himself with horrors about my disposition to make negroes perfectly equal with white men in social and political relations. He did not stop to show that I have said any such thing, or that it legitimately follows from anything I have said, but he rushes on with his assertions. I adhere to the Declaration of Independence. If Judge Douglas and his friends are not willing to stand by it, let them come up and amend it. Let them make it read that all men are created equal except negroes. Let us have it decided whether the Declaration of Independence, in this blessed year of 1858, shall be thus amended. In his construction of the Declaration last year, he said it only meant that Americans in America were equal to Englishmen in England. Then, when I pointed out to him that by that rule he excludes the Germans, the Irish, the Portuguese, and all the other people who have come among us since the Revolution, he reconstructs his construction. In his last speech he tells us it meant Europeans.

"I press him a little further, and I ask if it meant to include the Russians in Asia? or does he mean to exclude that vast population from the principles of our Declaration of Independ-

ence? I expect ere long he will introduce another amendment to his definition. He is not at all particular. He is satisfied with anything which does not endanger the nationalizing of negro slavery. It may draw white men down, but it must not lift negroes up. Who shall say, 'I am the superior, and you are the inferior?'

"My declarations upon this subject of negro slavery may be misrepresented, but can not be misunderstood. I have said that I do not understand the Declaration to mean that all men were created equal in all respects—they are not our equal in color; but I suppose that it does mean to declare that all men are equal in some respects. They are equal in their right to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Certainly the negro is not our equal in color—perhaps not in many other respects; still, in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned he is the equal of every other man, white or black. In pointing out that more has been given you you can not be justified in taking away the little which has been given him. All I ask for the negro is, that if you do not like him, let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy.

"When our Government was established, we had the institution of slavery among us. We were in a certain sense compelled to tolerate its existence. It was a sort of necessity. We had gone through our struggle and secured our own independence. The framers of the Constitution found the institution of slavery among their other institutions at the time. They found that by an effort to eradicate it, they might lose much of what they had already gained. They were obliged to bow to the necessity. They gave power to Congress to abolish the slave-trade at the end of twenty years. They also prohibited it in the Territories where it did not exist. They did what they could and yielded to the necessity for the rest. I also yield to all which follows from that necessity. What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and black races.

"One more point on this Springfield speech which Judge Douglas says he has read so carefully. I expressed my belief in the existence of a conspiracy to perpetuate and nationalize slavery. I did not profess to know it, nor do I now. I showed

the part Judge Douglas had played in the string of facts, constituting to my mind the proof of that conspiracy, I showed the parts played by others.

"I charged that the people had been deceived into carrying the last Presidential election by the impression that the people of the Territories might exclude slavery if they chose, when it was known in advance by the conspirators that the court was to decide that neither Congress nor the people could so exclude slavery. These charges are more distinctly made than anything else in the speech.

"Judge Douglas has carefully read and re-read that speech. He has not, so far as I know, contradicted those charges. In the two speeches which I heard, he certainly did not. On his own tacit admission I renew that charge. I charge him as having been a party to that conspiracy and to that deception for the sole purpose of nationalizing slavery."

CHAPTER XIII.

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS IN 1858—THE FAMOUS DEBATE—
LINCOLN DEFEATED—A COMPARISON.

MR. LINCOLN had a passion for close conflicts, nothing pleasing him better than to be brought face to face with an opponent whom he deemed worthy of the powers which he believed he possessed in no small degree himself. He admired Mr. Douglas as a speaker, and yet believed himself no mean match for him, if not in some very essential points having great advantages over him.

The following letters now passed between them, arranging the terms of further discussions:—

“CHICAGO, ILL., July 24, 1858.

“HON. S. A. DOUGLAS:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time, and address the same audiences the present canvass? Mr. Judd, who will hand you this, is authorized to receive your answer; and, if agreeable to you, to enter into the terms of such arrangement.

“Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.”

“CHICAGO, July 24, 1858.

“HON. A. LINCOLN:—

“DEAR SIR,—Your note of this date, in which you inquire if it would be agreeable to me to make an arrangement to divide the time and address the same audiences

during the present canvass, was handed me by Mr. Judd. Recent events have interposed difficulties in the way of such an arrangement.

“I went to Springfield last week for the purpose of conferring with the Democratic State Central Committee upon the mode of conducting the canvass, and with them, and under their advice, made a list of appointments covering the entire period until late in October. The people of the several localities have been notified of the times and places of the meetings. These appointments have all been made for Democratic meetings, and arrangements have been made by which the Democratic candidates for Congress, for the Legislature, and other offices, will be present and address the people. It is evident, therefore, that these various candidates, in connection with myself, will occupy the whole time of the day and evening, and leave no opportunity for other speeches.

“Besides, there is another consideration which should be kept in mind. It has been suggested, recently, that an arrangement had been made to bring out a third candidate for the United States Senate, who, with yourself, should canvass the State in opposition to me, with no other purpose than to insure my defeat, by dividing the Democratic party for your benefit. If I should make this arrangement with you, it is more than probable that this other candidate, who has a common object with you, would desire to become a party to it, and claim the right to speak from the same stand; so that he and you, in concert, might be able to take the opening and closing speech in every case.

“I can not refrain from expressing my surprise, if it was your original intention to invite such an arrangement, that you should have waited until after I had made my appointments, inasmuch as we were both here in Chicago together for several days after my arrival, and again at Bloomington, Atlanta, Lincoln, and Springfield, where it was well known I went for the purpose of consulting with

the State Central Committee, and agreeing upon the plan of the campaign.

“While, under these circumstances, I do not feel at liberty to make any arrangements which would deprive the Democratic candidates for Congress, State officers, and the Legislature, from participating in the discussion at the various meetings designated by the Democratic State Central Committee, I will, in order to accommodate you, as far as it is in my power to do so, take the responsibility of making an arrangement with you for a discussion between us at one prominent point in each Congressional District in the State, except the second and sixth districts, where we have both spoken, and in each of which cases you had the concluding speech. If agreeable to you, I will indicate the following places, as those most suitable in the several Congressional Districts, at which we should speak, to wit: Freeport, Ottawa, Galesburgh, Quincy, Alton, Jonesboro, and Charleston. I will confer with you at the earliest convenient opportunity in regard to the mode of conducting the debate, the times of meeting at the several places, subject to the condition, that where appointments have already been made by the Democratic State Central Committee at any of those places, I must insist upon your meeting me at the time specified.

“Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

“S. A. DOUGLAS.”

“SPRINGFIELD, July 29, 1858.

“HON. S. A. DOUGLAS:—

“DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 24th, in relation to an arrangement to divide time, and address the same audiences, is received; and, in apology for not sooner replying, allow me to say, that when I sat by you at dinner yesterday, I was not aware that you had answered my note, nor, certainly, that my own note had been presented to you. An hour after, I saw a copy of your answer in the ‘Chicago Times,’ and, reaching home, I found the original awaiting

me. Protesting that your insinuations of attempted unfairness on my part are unjust, and with the hope that you did not very considerably make them, I proceed to reply. To your statement that 'it has been suggested, recently, that an arrangement had been made to bring out a third candidate for the United States Senate, who, with yourself, should canvass the State in opposition to me,' etc., I can only say, that such suggestion must have been made by yourself, for certainly none such has been made by or to me, or otherwise, to my knowledge. Surely you did not *deliberately* conclude, as you insinuate, that I was expecting to draw you into an arrangement of terms, to be agreed on by yourself, by which a third candidate and myself, 'in concert, might be able to take the opening and closing speech in every case.'

"As to your surprise that I did not sooner make the proposal to divide time with you, I can only say, I made it as soon as I resolved to make it. I did not know but that such proposal would come from you; I waited, respectfully, to see. It may have been well known to you that you went to Springfield for the purpose of agreeing on the plan of campaign; but it was not so known to me. When your appointments were announced in the papers, extending only to the 21st of August, I, for the first time, considered it certain that you would make no proposal to me, and then resolved that, if my friends concurred, I would make one to you. As soon thereafter as I could see and consult with friends satisfactorily, I did make the proposal. It did not occur to me that the proposed arrangement could derange your plans after the latest of your appointments already made. After that, there was, before the election, largely over two months of clear time.

"For you to say that we have already spoken at Chicago and Springfield, and that on both occasions I had the concluding speech, is hardly a fair statement. The truth rather is this: At Chicago, July 9th, you made a

carefully prepared conclusion on my speech of June 16th. Twenty-four hours after, I made a hasty conclusion on yours of the 9th. You had six days to prepare, and concluded on me again at Bloomington on the 16th. Twenty-four hours after I concluded again on you at Springfield. In the meantime, you had made another conclusion on me at Springfield, which I did not hear, and of the contents of which I knew nothing when I spoke; so that your speech made in daylight, and mine at night, on the 17th, at Springfield, were both made in perfect independence of each other. The dates of making all these speeches will show, I think, that in the matter of time for preparation, the advantage has been all on your side; and that none of the external circumstances has stood to my advantage.

"I agree to an arrangement for us to speak at the seven places you have named, and at your own times, provided you name the times at once, so that I, as well as you, can have to myself the time not covered by the arrangement. As to the other details, I wish perfect reciprocity, and no more. I wish as much time as you, and that conclusions shall alternate. That is all.

"Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

"P. S.—As matters now stand, I shall be at no more of your exclusive meetings; and for about a week from to-day a letter from you will reach me at Springfield.

"A. L."

"BEMENT, PIATT COUNTY, ILLINOIS, July 30, 1858.

"DEAR SIR,—Your letter, dated yesterday, accepting my proposition for a joint discussion at one prominent point in each Congressional District, as stated in my previous letter, was received this morning.

"The times and places designated are as follows:

"Ottawa, La Salle County, August	21st, 1858.
Freeport, Stephenson County, "	27th, "
Jonesboro, Union County, September	15th, "
Charleston, Coles County, "	18th, "

Galesburgh, Knox County, . . .	October	7th, 1858.
Quincy, Adams County,	"	13th, "
Alton, Madison County,	"	15th, "

"I agree to your suggestion that we shall alternately open and close the discussion. I will speak at Ottawa one hour, you can reply, occupying an hour and a half, and I will then follow for half an hour. At Freeport, you shall open the discussion and speak one hour, I will follow for an hour and a half, and you can then reply for half an hour. We will alternate in like manner at each successive place.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"S. A. DOUGLAS.

"Hon. A. LINCOLN, Springfield, Illinois."

"SPRINGFIELD, July 31, 1858.

"Hon. S. A. DOUGLAS:—

"DEAR SIR,—Yours of yesterday, naming places, times, and terms, for joint discussions between us, was received this morning. Although, by the terms, as you propose, you take *four* openings and closes, to my *three*, I accede, and thus close the arrangement. I direct this to you at Hillsboro, and shall try to have both your letter and this appear in the 'Journal' and 'Register' of Monday morning.

"Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN."

Considering the smallness of the stake, no other political contest in the history of the country compares with this in force and importance. The public positions of the two combatants were very dissimilar. In fact it would have been a very difficult matter to find two men in most ways so unlike. Mr. Douglas had been for many years a Senator in Congress, and was generally admitted to be one of the most able and artful political speakers in the

country. Horace Greeley, in his "Recollections of a Busy Life," says of him:—

"Mr. Douglas was the readiest man I ever knew. He was not a hard student; if he had been, it would have been difficult to set limits to his power. I have seen him rise in the Senate quite at fault with regard to essential facts in controversy, and thence make damaging blunders in debate; but he readily caught at and profited by any suggestion thrown out by friend or foe; and no American ever excelled him in off-hand discussion."

Mr. Douglas had, at least, a national reputation; was the reputed author of a popular new political dogma; and was the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party in the North. When Mr. Lincoln was nominated by the Republicans in June, 1858, to oppose Douglas for re-election as United States Senator, he was unknown beyond the borders of his own State, or, at any rate, comparatively so. Still, they had met in debate, and while Lincoln admired the power and success of Mr. Douglas, he knew his weaknesses, and considered himself at least his equal in debate. Although Mr. Douglas had been a school-teacher, he was no scholar, and in this particular was no departure from a very general rule at even a later date. He was not only not a scholar, but he was also no student. He hated study, and would not engage in it systematically more than a woman. He relied upon his other qualities, and was not mistaken in his belief that the people liked him better for so doing. Here his opponent had the advantage over him. As unpretentious as Mr. Lincoln was as to books,

he was not only a better scholar, but was also generally better read than Douglas. He was a student with a real passion for books. He had a fine memory, and what he read stuck to him. He thought slowly, but persistently and deeply. As a debater, he was not so quick as Mr. Douglas, but he was much more methodic and deep. He saw farther into the future, judging far more correctly of the result of any course of policy. His better moral character gave a correspondingly higher tone to the current of his political reasoning. In good nature and general decorum Mr. Douglas compared very meanly with him. In manner, he was humble and unpretending; while Douglas, with a superior external polish, was pretentious and lordly. He seldom or never left his earnest and plain course of reasoning and thinking to make appeals to the passions or feelings of his hearers, while *ad hominem* appeals were always a main reliance of Mr. Douglas. He understood Mr. Douglas well, while Douglas made it a point from the beginning to the end of the campaign to show that he did not understand him, or to misrepresent him in purpose and sentiment. His patience in dealing with the ill-humor and ill-manners of Mr. Douglas was only equaled by the entire absence of anything like unkindness or indecorum in his treatment of the vast crowds of Mr. Douglas's friends to whom he often spoke.

These debates throughout show not only the higher and purer type of Mr. Lincoln's statesmanship, but also that he had a more correct knowledge of the

true condition of public affairs at the time, and a far more accurate view of the prospects of the future than his experienced opponent, one of that class of politicians who prated of eternal peace, when the conditions of peace were daily becoming less secure.

In his introductory, or "House-divided-against-itself" speech, Mr. Lincoln announced principles which Mr. Douglas could not answer, however much he tried, and which never have been controverted. Even his own party they struck with awe, but time and events placed them beyond the range of dispute. From these principles he never departed, and their accurate fulfillment at this remote day greatly elevates his character and dwarfs Mr. Douglas to a mere oratoric performer by his side. In the truth of history, this was, indeed, all Mr. Douglas was. His leading idea, the dogma of popular sovereignty, was only a politician's scheme, and on it he hoped to ride into the President's Chair. But it died with him, as did also much of the sophistry which characterized his brilliant speeches in this remarkable contest. And with the Rebellion died much of the moral turpitude which marked the careers of the Northern defenders of slavery.

For several reasons, it may be a matter of regret that the scope of this work makes it impossible to reproduce here the speeches of this wonderful debate. They not only exhibit a unique picture in the history of the men themselves, but also furnish a valuable chapter in the history of the institution one of them was most instrumental in overthrowing. By

the reflection events have thrown upon these speeches they will always have a historic value, although they pertain to the past.

The most striking point of comparison between these two men, as seen in this long debate, was in their very different political morals. So well did Mr. Lincoln understand this difference, that long before the close of the debate, he ceased to take any note of Douglas's oft-repeated charges, which he had answered fully as long as there was any hope of accomplishing anything by so doing. In the last debate at Alton, Mr. Douglas used this language in speaking of the framers of the Constitution:—

“They knew then, as well as we know now, that the laws and institutions which would be well adapted to the beautiful prairies of Illinois would not be suited to the mining regions of California. They knew that in a Republic as broad as this, having such a variety of soil, climate, and interest, there must necessarily be a corresponding variety of local laws, the policy and institutions of each State adapted to its condition and wants. For this reason this Union was established on the right of each State to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question; and the various States were not allowed to complain of, much less interfere with, the policy of their neighbors.”

The framers of the Constitution knew but little of the wants of the beautiful prairies of Illinois, and absolutely nothing of the mining regions of California. But it is not meant to speak of the charlatanry of this and many parts of Mr. Douglas's speeches; the moral tone only is in question. It was the

erroneous principle announced here, and in many forms repeated, which led Mr. Douglas to say that it was nothing to him whether "slavery was voted up or voted down." Nothing was any of his business which was not in his way and adapted to his own interests. In politics this is no more a fatal doctrine than it is in common, every-day life among persons. When applied to a great purpose it is no less evil than when applied to a little one. To say that every man has a right to follow what pursuit he pleases, to do, or even to think, what he pleases, would be revolting in a moderate state of morals. To say that a whole community or a State has such a right does not alter the case, however it may seem to divert the principle. But in fact no such principle was ever entertained by the framers, or expressed or implied in the Constitution. Here is shadowed forth Mr. Lincoln's moral code:—

"He says he 'don't care whether it is voted up or voted down' in the Territories. I do not care myself in dealing with that expression, whether it is intended to be expressive of his individual sentiments on this subject, or only the national policy he desires to have established. It is alike valuable for my purpose. Any man can say that who does not see anything wrong in slavery, but no man can logically say it who does see a wrong in it; because no man can logically say he don't care whether a wrong is voted up or voted down. He may say that he don't care whether an indifferent thing is voted up or down, but he must logically have a choice between a right thing and a wrong thing. He contends that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them. So

they have if it is not a wrong. But if it is wrong, he can not say people have a right to do wrong."

Yes, this is the whole matter. How far the mere opinion of a man may go towards deciding the line between right and wrong depends upon several circumstances. When these circumstances are wholly absent, the opinion of the man on the most trivial question of right and wrong becomes absolutely worthless.

I have said that this contest between Douglas and Lincoln was the most important, considering the smallness of the stake, which has ever attracted the attention of the country politically, the stake being nothing but a seat in the Senate of the United States. But the appearances were deceptive. There was much more involved in it than this. Mr. Douglas was a candidate for the Presidency, and now he knew that every step he took was watched by his friends, as well as by his enemies. Mr. Lincoln's initial speech (the "House-divided-against-itself") was planned on a scale far beyond the scope of such a campaign, much to the amazement and displeasure of his friends. Throughout the debate only national interests were discussed. Mr. Lincoln had long before this time, to a great extent, abandoned his concern for merely local affairs. A part of his aim now was to weaken or destroy Mr. Douglas's prospects for the Presidency. He knew Mr. Douglas better than the Republicans of the East knew him; and throughout this long debate Mr. Douglas furnished ample grounds for the shame of his Republican

flatterers, whose aid he would not have despised, if by it he could have gone into the White House.

But injury to Mr. Douglas's prospects was not, perhaps, Mr. Lincoln's main object, beyond the advocacy of political principles which he believed of paramount importance to the country; it was the advancement of his own national reputation, if not establishing his claims in connection with the Presidency.

Mr. Lincoln's clear mind perceived the discrepancy between Mr. Douglas's support of the Dred Scott decision and his dogma of popular sovereignty. He believed them antagonistic and fraudulent, and in framing his four or five questions for Mr. Douglas as an offset for the seven presented to him, he hoped to trap him on this point. And in this he was not disappointed. When his interrogatories were shown to his friends, they remonstrated. They thought the ground too wide for a Congressional race. And they said that Douglas would evade the Dred Scott decision by treating it as an abstract one, and denying its practical application. That was one of the very things he wanted Mr. Douglas to do, and this he said would kill him as a Presidential candidate. But to this they replied that that was a different matter, that he was after the Senatorship simply. This was their great mistake, and of this they were not left in doubt by his answer. "No, I am killing larger game. The battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

It must be confessed that Mr. Lincoln was fighting

a far-reaching game. That it was skillfully done there can now be no question. Nor can there be any as to its fatal influences in deciding the South against making Mr. Douglas its candidate for the Presidency in 1860. Nor, indeed, is there any question about this campaign for the Senate making Mr. Lincoln the Republican candidate instead of Mr. Seward.

Two of the Chicago newspapers published the debate in full as it proceeded from day to day. Other papers throughout the country published the greater part of the speeches of both sides, and the contest attracted the attention of the whole Nation. Mr. Douglas's national prominence at the time and his known aspirations, and the known desire of President Buchanan and his Cabinet to see him defeated, would in themselves have excited a general interest in his contest for re-election to the Senate. But it is a fact that the comparatively unknown man whom the Republicans had pitted against him, who had led him from the outset with an incontrovertible doctrine, for the first time boldly applied to political affairs, who never descended from his high point, never wavered, never stumbled, never at any moment fell below the highest expectation which any of his words could have started, and who held himself to the end in such manner as to impress one-half of his countrymen with the belief that he was more than a match for the "Little Giant," and whose after course convinced the greater part of the enlightened world, perhaps, that he had no equal among the men of his

day, gave the peculiar and unusual attractiveness to the combat. In Illinois the excitement was only equaled by a Presidential contest. A contemporary writer said of it:—

“Douglas went through this campaign like a conquering hero. He had his special train of cars, his band of music, his body-guard of devoted friends, a cannon carried on the train, the firing from which announced his approach to the place of meeting. Such a canvass involved, necessarily, very large expenditures; and it has been said that Douglas did not expend less than fifty thousand dollars in this canvass. Some idea of the plain, simple, frugal, habits of Mr. Lincoln may be gathered, when I tell you that at its close, having occupied several months, Mr. Lincoln said, with the idea, apparently, that he had been somewhat extravagant: ‘I do not believe I have spent a cent less than five hundred dollars in this canvass.’”

But, although Mr. Lincoln had a majority of over four thousand in the popular vote, the State was districted in favor of the Democrats, and on joint ballot in the Legislature Mr. Douglas had a plurality of eight votes, and was consequently returned in triumph to the Senate. Of this race “The New York Tribune” said:—

“In 1858 the Republican State Convention *unanimously* designated him as their representative man to stump the State against Stephen A. Douglas. They knew that the struggle would be a desperate one—that they must put their very best foot foremost. If they had had a champion whom they supposed abler and worthier than Mr. Lincoln, they would have chosen that champion for this arduous service. They had nearly all heard Lincoln

and their other speakers, and ought to have known by this time who was their best man; yet they chose Abraham Lincoln. If they do n't know who is their best man, should not missionaries be sent out to teach them?

“Mr. Lincoln went into this canvass under most discouraging auspices. Many leading Republicans out of the State thought the opposition to Mr. Douglas impolitic and mistaken. *We* certainly thought so; and, though we said little on the point, our very silence was damaging in a State where more people read this paper than any other. It has been a hundred times asserted that ‘The Tribune’ ‘defeated Lincoln.’ But there were other outside influences, as adverse and at least equally potent. In 1856 the State polled thirty-seven thousand four hundred and forty-four American or Whig votes for Fillmore. Many of these were cast by natives of Kentucky; all by men who love and confide in John J. Crittenden. In the thickest of the fray, a letter from Mr. Crittenden was published, advising them to favor Mr. Douglas’s re-election. Undoubtedly, this had an overruling influence with thousands. Yet, after Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas had thoroughly canvassed the State, the people voted with the following result:—

	FREMONT.	FILLMORE.	BUCHANAN.
Total vote in 1856,	96,189	37,444	105,348
	LINCOLN.	LECOMPTON.	DOUGLAS.
Total vote in 1858,	125,275	5,071	121,190
Lincoln’s gain on 1856,			29,086
Douglas’s “			15,742
Lincoln’s net gain,			14,345

Or, give Douglas the entire Lecompton vote in addition to his own, and Lincoln still gains on him 9,273.

“Bear in mind that this was a contest in which the sympathies of men indifferent to party were almost wholly with Douglas, wherein many Republicans supported him throughout, wherein Crittenden summoned the Americans

to his aid, and wherein he stood boldly on the ground of popular sovereignty, with the prestige of having just before defeated the infamous Lecompton Bill. All things considered, we recall nothing in the history of political campaigning more creditable to a canvasser than this vote is to Lincoln.

“We have thus dwelt throughout on facts of public record or of universal notoriety. The speeches made to the same audiences in that canvass, by Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas, were collected and printed by the Republicans of Ohio, for cheap and general dissemination, long before they dreamed that Mr. Lincoln would be the Republican candidate for President. We had sold hundreds of them at our counter, as we had thousands of Mr. Lincoln’s speech in this city, before the meeting of the Chicago Convention; we expect to sell thousands of the former and tens of thousands of the latter forthwith. Every reader can herein see just what manner of man Mr. Lincoln is, and how he bears himself when confronted with one of the very best and most effective popular canvassers in the Democratic ranks. If Mr. Lincoln is weak, or ill-informed, or anywise deficient, this protracted discussion with Douglas must show it.”

CHAPTER XIV.

LINCOLN AS A LECTURER—FOLLOWS DOUGLAS TO OHIO—
THE GREAT ISSUE—LOOKING AT THE WHITE HOUSE
IN THE DISTANCE—MR. LINCOLN ON CAPITAL
AND LABOR.

AFTER this famous contest with Douglas Mr. Lincoln resumed his law practice, but not without some itching for the more exciting and congenial field he had left. In politics there was no immediate demand for his services, as much as they were now valued by his party. Mr. Lincoln entertained the sentiment that no man knew the extent of his capabilities until he had tested them. He considered himself no exception under this supposition. His immediate friends had discovered where his strong points were as a speaker, but he had not. Although he knew something of his ability as a political speaker, he was unaware of his deficiency in other directions. All subjects appeared about alike to him, and he was willing to grapple with any of them.

By education and natural ability, Mr. Lincoln was quite deficient in some things, but he was not quick to learn this fact. He would have entered upon "the good, the true, and the beautiful," for a theme, as readily as anything else, and yet few men of any culture had, perhaps, so little power as Mr. Lincoln

to appreciate or recognize what was beautiful in anything. In its more apparent forms he took some note of beauty ; but of the beautiful in art, science, morals, life, in nature's vast and tongueless fields, indeed he saw little. Not like Thoreau was he

“The man
Who, in this spirit, communes with the forms
Of Nature.”

To him the flower was never a living creature with histories on its leaves and passions in its hues and motions. His early taste for doggerel verse, and his after interest in better poetry hardly came from the “beauty-spirit.” His tenderness and justice would have led him, however, to say :—

“And 'tis my faith that every flower
Enjoys the air it breathes.”

And so, after all, to this sad, dreamy man, the world was in some way

“Made up of tears and light.”

Long ago Mr. Lincoln committed the ridiculous farce of writing on theology, a subject of which he never knew anything, or rather, knew less than he did about anything else ; and believed little else than that God is, and is just. This disreputable performance will be fully discussed in another part of this work. To fill up the time to the next political campaign, Mr. Lincoln wrote out now a lecture on “Inventions,” and this he delivered at Springfield and two other places. He then stopped, and never could be prevailed upon to speak it again. It was rather

weak and ridiculous, and he was, fortunately, able to find this out. This "sort of a lecture," as he called it, was not printed, and it was, perhaps, well for his reputation that it was not.

At this period Mr. Lincoln began to be very cautious, and was especially concerned about his reputation. From one source or another there began to appear statements touching his fitness for the Presidency. And soon scores of newspapers discovered that he had more and better qualities, popular qualities, for an available candidate than any man in America. This ring was in harmony with Mr. Lincoln's dreams and ambition, although he wrote to one of his friends so early as March, 1859, that he did not consider himself fit for the Presidency. However, the matter began to be common talk at Springfield, and on the fourth day of May, 1859, the "Central Illinois Gazette" actually announced him as a candidate for that office. This step the editor took on his own responsibility, however. But the movement spread rapidly, and was as pleasing to Mr. Lincoln as to his friends. The following letter quite widely circulated did no small service at this juncture, and at a later date was used to put Mr. Lincoln on excellent terms with foreign-born voters:—

"SPRINGFIELD, May 17, 1859.

"DEAR SIR,—Your letter, in which you inquire, on your own account and in behalf of certain other German citizens, whether I approve or oppose the Constitutional provision in relation to naturalized citizens which was lately enacted in Massachusetts, and whether I favor or

oppose a fusion of the Republicans with the other opposition elements in the campaign of 1860, has been received.

"Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent State, and I have no right to advise her in her policy. Yet if any one is desirous to draw a conclusion as to what I would do from what she has done, I may speak without impropriety. I say, then, that so far as I understand the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption, not only in Illinois, but in every other place in which I have the right to oppose it. As I understand the spirit of our institutions, it is designed to promote the elevation of men. I am, therefore, hostile to anything that tends to their debasement. It is well known that I deplore the oppressed condition of the blacks, and it would, therefore, be very inconsistent for me to look with approval upon any measure that infringes upon the inalienable rights of white men, whether or not they are born in another land or speak a different language from our own.

"In respect to a fusion, I am in favor of it whenever it can be effected on Republican principles, but upon *no other condition*. A fusion upon any other platform would be as insane as unprincipled. It would thereby lose the whole North, while the common enemy would still have the support of the entire South. The question in relation to men is different. There are good and patriotic men and able statesmen in the South whom I would willingly support if they would place themselves on Republican ground; but I shall oppose the lowering of the Republican standard even by a *hair's-breadth*.

"I have written in haste, but I believe I have answered your questions substantially.

"Respectfully, yours, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"DR. THEODOR CANISIUS."

Other similar letters, designed to draw him out in the usual way on certain points, Mr. Lincoln was

forced to notice in the course of the next few months. The following views on Thomas Jefferson were drawn from Mr. Lincoln by an invitation from the Republicans of Boston, and can not fail to be of interest at any time as showing the advance of his own mind with the spirit of coming events:—

“SPRINGFIELD, Ill., April 6, 1859.

“GENTLEMEN,—Your kind note, inviting me to attend a festival in Boston, on the 13th instant, in honor of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, was duly received. My engagements are such that I can not attend. Bearing in mind that about seventy years ago two great political parties were first formed in this country, that Thomas Jefferson was the head of one of them and Boston the head-quarters of the other, it is both curious and interesting that those supposed to descend politically from the party opposed to Jefferson, should now be celebrating his birthday in their own original seat of empire, while those claiming political descent from him have nearly ceased to breathe his name everywhere.

“Remembering, too, that the Jefferson party was formed upon its supposed superior devotion to the *personal* rights of men, holding the rights of *property* to be secondary only, and greatly inferior; and then assuming that the so-called Democracy of to-day are the Jefferson, and their opponents the Anti-Jefferson parties, it will be equally interesting to note how completely the two have changed ground as to the principle upon which they were originally supposed to be divided.

“The Democracy of to-day hold the *liberty* of one man to be absolutely nothing, when in conflict with another man's right of *property*. Republicans, on the contrary, are both for the *man* and the *dollar*, but in case of conflict the man *before* the dollar.

"I remember being once much amused at seeing two partially intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their great-coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really identical with the two in the days of Jefferson and Adams, they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men.

"But, soberly, it is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this Nation.

"One would state with great confidence that he could convince any sane child that the simpler propositions of Euclid are true; but, nevertheless, he would fail with one who should deny the definitions and axioms. The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashinglly calls them 'glittering generalities.' Another bluntly styles them 'self-evident lies.' And others insidiously argue that they apply only to 'superior races.'

"These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the sappers and miners, of returning despotism. We must repulse them, or they will subjugate us.

"This is a world of compensations; and he who would *be* no slave must consent to *have* no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, can not long retain it.

"All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to

embalm it there, that to-day, and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.

“Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

“Messrs. H. L. PIERCE, and others, etc.”

In September, 1859, Mr. Douglas went to Ohio to help re-elect George E. Pugh to Congress, and Mr. Lincoln followed him, by urgent request of the Republicans over there. He had been following Mr. Douglas for many years, and it was natural for him to do so now. Although he made but few speeches in Ohio, they were, to a great extent, a renewal of the same old battle of the year before with Mr. Douglas. At Cincinnati a great part of his speech was addressed to Kentuckians, which was not quite satisfactory to his audience. Ohio must necessarily be the chief ingredient in anything to render it palatable to an Ohio man. It had not been discovered that Mr. Lincoln had long ago abandoned the discussion of merely local matters, and entered the wider national field. He had no part in the trifling affairs and personal abuse and vilification that was expected to make a great element in local and State politics. Mr. Lincoln's ambition now reached beyond such things. He was aiming at a higher mark. Then, too, he had long before lost his interest in these contests, which were of no importance beyond the narrow limits of the county or State. Few men, perhaps, have had less pride of State than Mr. Lincoln. His principles were far-reaching. He was a patriot in the truest sense.

SPEECH OF MR. LINCOLN.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 17, 1859.

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE STATE OF OHIO,—This is the first time in my life that I have appeared before an audience in so great a city as this. I therefore—though I am no longer a young man—make this appearance under some degree of embarrassment. But I have found that when one is embarrassed, usually the shortest way to get through with it is to quit talking or thinking about it, and go at something else.

I understand that you have had recently with you my very distinguished friend, Judge Douglas, of Illinois, and I understand, without having had an opportunity (not greatly sought, to be sure) of seeing a report of the speech that he made here, that he did me the honor to mention my humble name. I suppose that he did so for the purpose of making some objection to some sentiment at some time expressed by me. I should expect, it is true, that Judge Douglas had reminded you, or informed you, if you had never before heard it, that I had once in my life declared it as my opinion that this Government can not “endure permanently half slave and half free; that a house divided against itself can not stand,” and, as I had expressed it, I did not expect the house to fall; that I did not expect the Union to be dissolved; but that I did expect that it would cease to be divided; that it would become all one thing or all the other; that either the opposition of slavery would arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind would rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction, or the friends of slavery will push it forward until it becomes alike lawful in all the States, old or new, free as well as slave. I did, fifteen months ago, express that opinion, and upon many occasions Judge Douglas has denounced it, and has greatly, intentionally or unintentionally, misrepresented my purpose in the expression of that opinion.

I presume, without having seen a report of his speech, that he did so here. I presume that he alluded also to that opinion in different language, having been expressed at a subsequent time by Governor Seward of New York, and that he took the

two in a lump and denounced them; that he tried to point out that there was something couched in this opinion which led to the making of an entire uniformity of the local institutions of the various States of the Union, in utter disregard of the different States which in their nature would seem to require a variety of institutions, and a variety of laws, conforming to the differences in the nature of the different States.

Not only so; I presume he insisted that this was a declaration of war between the Free and Slave States; that it was the sounding to the onset of continual war between the different States, the Slave and Free States.

This charge, in this form, was made by Judge Douglas, on, I believe, the 9th of July, 1858, in Chicago, in my hearing. On the next evening, I made some reply to it. I informed him that many of the inferences he drew from that expression of mine were altogether foreign to any purpose entertained by me, and in so far as he should ascribe these inferences to me as my purpose, he was entirely mistaken; and in so far as he might argue that whatever might be my purpose, actions, conforming to my views, would lead to these results, he might argue and establish if he could; but, so far as purposes were concerned, he was totally mistaken as to me.

When I made that reply to him; when I told him, on the question of declaring war between the different States of the Union, that I had not said that I did not expect any peace upon this question until slavery was exterminated; that I had only said I expected peace when that institution was put where the public mind should rest in the belief that it was in course of ultimate extinction; that I believed from the organization of our Government, until a very recent period of time, the institution had been placed and continued upon such a basis; that we had had comparative peace upon that question through a portion of that period of time, only because the public mind rested in that belief in regard to it; and that when we returned to that position in relation to that matter, I supposed we should again have peace as we previously had. I assured him, as I now assure you, that I neither had then, nor have, nor ever had, any purpose in any way of interfering with the institution of slavery where it exists. I believe we have no power, under

the Constitution of the United States, or rather under the form of Government under which we live, to interfere with the institution of slavery, or any other of the institutions of our sister States, be they Free or Slave States. I declared then, and I now re-declare, that I have as little inclination to interfere with the institution of slavery where it now exists, through the instrumentality of the General Government, or any other instrumentality, as I believe we have no power to do so. I accidentally used this expression: I had no purpose of entering into the Slave States to disturb the institution of slavery! So, upon the first occasion that Judge Douglas got an opportunity to reply to me, he passed by the whole body of what I had said upon that subject, and seized upon the particular expression of mine, that I had no purpose of entering into the Slave States to disturb the institution of slavery. "O no," said he, "he (Lincoln) won't enter into the Slave States to disturb the institution of slavery; he is too prudent a man to do such a thing as that; he only means that he will go on to the line between the Free and Slave States, and shoot over at them. This is all he means to do. He means to do them all the harm he can, to disturb them all he can in such a way as to keep his own hide in perfect safety."

Well, now, I did not think, at that time, that that was either a very dignified or very logical argument; but so it was. I had to get along with it as well as I could.

It has occurred to me here to-night, that if I ever do shoot over the line at the people on the other side of the line into a Slave State, and purpose to do so, keeping my skin safe, that I have now about the best chance I shall ever have. I should not wonder that there are some Kentuckians about this audience; we are close to Kentucky; and whether that be so or not, we are on elevated ground, and by speaking distinctly, I should not wonder if some of the Kentuckians would hear me on the other side of the river. For that reason I propose to address a portion of what I have to say to the Kentuckians.

I say, then, in the first place, to the Kentuckians, that I am what they call, as I understand it, a "Black Republican." I think slavery is wrong, morally and politically. I desire that it should be no further spread in these United States, and I

should not object if it should gradually terminate in the whole Union. While I say this for myself, I say to you Kentuckians, that I understand you differ radically with me upon this proposition; that you believe slavery is a good thing; that slavery is right; that it ought to be extended and perpetuated in this Union. Now, there being this broad difference between us, I do not pretend in addressing myself to you, Kentuckians, to attempt proselyting you; that would be a vain effort. I do not enter upon it. I only propose to try to show you that you ought to nominate for the next Presidency, at Charleston, my distinguished friend, Judge Douglas. In all that there is a difference between you and him, I understand he is sincerely for you, and more wisely for you than you are for yourselves. I will try to demonstrate that proposition. Understand, now, I say that I believe he is as sincerely for you, and more wisely for you, than you are for yourselves.

What do you want more than anything else to make successful your views of slavery—to advance the outspread of it, and to secure and perpetuate the nationality of it? What do you want more than anything else? What is needed absolutely? What is indispensable to you? Why, if I may be allowed to answer the question, it is to retain a hold upon the North—it is to retain support and strength from the Free States. If you can get this support and strength from the Free States, you can succeed. If you do not get this support and this strength from the Free States, you are in the minority, and you are beaten at once.

If that proposition be admitted—and it is undeniable—then the next thing I say to you is, that Douglas of all the men in this Nation is the only man that affords you any hold upon the Free States, that no other man can give you any strength in the Free States. This being so, if you doubt the other branch of the proposition, whether he is for you, whether he is really for you, as I have expressed it, I propose asking your attention for awhile to a few facts.

The issue between you and me, understand, is, that I think slavery is wrong, and ought not to be outspread, and you think it is right and ought to be extended and perpetuated.

(A voice, "O, Lord!") That is my Kentuckian I am talking to now.

I now proceed to try to show you that Douglas is as sincerely for you and more wisely for you than you are for yourselves.

In the first place, we know that in a government like this, in a government of the people, where the voice of all the men of that country, substantially, enters into the execution—or administration, rather—of the government, in such a government, what lies at the bottom of all of it is public opinion. I lay down the proposition that Judge Douglas is not only the man that promises you in advance a hold upon the North, and support in the North, but that he constantly molds public opinion to your ends; that in every possible way he can, he constantly molds the public opinion of the North to your ends; and if there are a few things in which he seems to be against you—a few things which he says that appear to be against you, and a few that he forbears to say which you would like to have him say—you ought to remember that the saying of the one, or the forbearing to say the other, would lose his hold upon the North, and, by consequence, would lose his capacity to serve you.

Upon this subject of molding public opinion, I call your attention to the fact—for a well-established fact it is—that the Judge never says your institution of slavery is wrong; he never says it is right, to be sure, but he never says it is wrong. There is not a public man in the United States, I believe, with the exception of Senator Douglas, who has not, at some time in his life, declared his opinion whether the thing is right or wrong; but Senator Douglas never declares it is wrong. He leaves himself at perfect liberty to do all in your favor which he would be hindered from doing if he were to declare the thing to be wrong. On the contrary, he takes all the chances that he has for inveigling the sentiment of the North, opposed to slavery, into your support, by never saying it is right. This you ought to set down to his credit. You ought to give him full credit for this much, little though it be, in comparison to the whole which he does for you.

Some other things I will ask your attention to. He said

upon the floor of the United States Senate, and he has repeated it as I understand a great many times, that he does not care whether slavery is "voted up or voted down." This again shows you, or ought to show you, if you would reason upon it, that he does not believe it to be wrong; for a man may say, when he sees nothing wrong in a thing, that he does not care whether it be voted up or voted down; but no man can logically say that he cares not whether a thing goes up or goes down, which to him appears to be wrong. You therefore have a demonstration in this, that to Judge Douglas's mind your favorite institution which you would have spread out, and made perpetual, is no wrong.

Another thing he tells you, in a speech made at Memphis, in Tennessee, shortly after the canvass in Illinois, last year. He there distinctly told the people, that there was a "line drawn by the Almighty across this continent, on the one side of which the soil must always be cultivated by slaves;" that he did not pretend to know exactly where that line was, but that there was such a line. I want to ask your attention to that proposition again; that there is one portion of this continent where the Almighty has designed the soil shall always be cultivated by slaves; that its being cultivated by slaves at that place is right; that it has the direct sympathy and authority of the Almighty. Whenever you can get these Northern audiences to adopt the opinion that slavery is right on the other side of the Ohio; whenever you can get them, in pursuance of Douglas's views, to adopt that sentiment, they will very readily make the other argument, which is perfectly logical, that that which is right on that side of the Ohio, can not be wrong on this, and that if you have that property on that side of the Ohio, under the seal and stamp of the Almighty, when by any means it escapes over here, it is wrong to have constitutions and laws "to devil" you about it. So Douglas is molding the public opinion of the North, first to say that the thing is right in your State over the Ohio River, and hence to say that that which is right there is not wrong here, and that all laws and constitutions here recognizing it as being wrong, are themselves wrong, and ought to be repealed and abrogated. He will tell you, men of Ohio, that if you choose here to have laws against

slavery, it is in conformity to the idea that your climate is not suited to it, that your climate is not suited to slave labor, and therefore you have constitutions and laws against it.

Let us attend to that argument for a little while and see if it be sound. You do not raise sugar-cane (except the new-fashioned sugar-cane, and you won't raise that long), but they do raise it in Louisiana. You don't raise it in Ohio because you can't raise it profitably, because the climate don't suit it. They do raise it in Louisiana because there it is profitable. Now, Douglas will tell you that is precisely the slavery question. That they do have slaves there because they are profitable, and you don't have them here because they are not profitable. If that is so, then it leads to dealing with the one precisely as with the other.

Is there, then, anything in the constitution or laws of Ohio against raising sugar-cane? Have you found it necessary to put any such provision in your law? Surely not! No man desires to raise sugar-cane in Ohio; but, if any man did desire to do so, you would say it was a tyrannical law that forbids his doing so, and whenever you shall agree with Douglas, whenever your minds are brought to adopt his arguments, as surely you will have reached the conclusion, that although slavery is not profitable in Ohio, if any man wants it, it is wrong to him not to let him have it.

In this matter Judge Douglas is preparing the public mind for you of Kentucky, to make perpetual that good thing in your estimation, about which you and I differ.

In this connection let me ask your attention to another thing. I believe it is safe to assert that five years ago, no living man had expressed the opinion that the negro had no share in the Declaration of Independence. Let me state that again: five years ago no living man had expressed the opinion that the negro had no share in the Declaration of Independence. If there is in this large audience any man who ever knew of that opinion being put upon paper as much as five years ago, I will be obliged to him now or at a subsequent time to show it.

If that be true, I wish you then to note the next fact; that within the space of five years Senator Douglas, in the argument of this question, has got his entire party, so far as I know,

without exception, to join in saying that the negro has no share in the Declaration of Independence. If there be now in all these United States one Douglas man that does not say this, I have been unable upon any occasion to scare him up. Now, if none of you said this five years ago, and all of you say it now, that is a matter that you Kentuckians ought to note. That is a vast change in the Northern public sentiment upon that question.

Of what tendency is that change? The tendency of that change is to bring the public mind to the conclusion that when men are spoken of, the negro is not meant; that when negroes are spoken of, brutes alone are contemplated. That change in public sentiment has already degraded the black man in the estimation of Douglas and his followers from the condition of a man of some sort, and assigned to him the condition of a brute. Now, you Kentuckians ought to give Douglas credit for this. That is the largest possible stride that can be made in regard to the perpetuation of your thing of slavery.

A voice—"Speak to Ohio men and not to Kentuckians!"

Mr. Lincoln—I beg permission to speak as I please.

In Kentucky, perhaps, in many of the Slave States certainly, you are trying to establish the rightfulness of slavery by reference to the Bible. You are trying to show that slavery existed in the Bible times by Divine ordinance. Now, Douglas is wiser than you, for your own benefit, upon that subject. Douglas knows that whenever you establish that slavery was right by the Bible, it will occur that that slavery was the slavery of the *white* man—of men without reference to color—and he knows very well that you may entertain that idea in Kentucky as much as you please, but you will never win any Northern support upon it. He makes a wiser argument for you; he makes the argument that the slavery of the *black* man, the slavery of the man who has a skin of a different color from your own, is right. He thereby brings to your support Northern voters who could not for a moment be brought by your own argument of the Bible right of slavery. Will you not give him credit for that? Will you not say that in this matter he is more wisely for you than you are for yourselves?

Now, having established with his entire party this doctrine;

having been entirely successful in that branch of his efforts in your behalf, he is ready for another.

At this same meeting at Memphis, he declared that, while in all contests between the negro and the white man, he was for the white man, in all questions between the negro and the crocodile he was for the negro. He did not make that declaration accidentally at Memphis. He made it a great many times in the canvass in Illinois last year (though I don't know that it was reported in any of his speeches there), but he frequently made it. I believe he repeated it at Columbus, and I should not wonder if he repeated it here. It is, then, a deliberate way of expressing himself upon that subject. It is a matter of mature deliberation with him thus to express himself upon that point of his case. It, therefore, requires some deliberate attention.

The first inference seems to be, that if you do not enslave the negro you are wronging the white man in some way or other; and that whoever is opposed to the negro being enslaved, is, in some way or other, against the white man. Is not that a falsehood? If there was a necessary conflict between the white man and the negro, I should be for the white man as much as Judge Douglas; but I say there is no such necessary conflict. I say that there is room enough for us all to be free, and that it not only does not wrong the white man that the negro should be free, but it positively wrongs the mass of the white men that the negro should be enslaved; that the mass of white men are really injured by the effects of slave-labor in the vicinity of the fields of their own labor.

But I do not desire to dwell upon this branch of the question more than to say that this assumption of his is false, and I do hope that that fallacy will not long prevail in the minds of intelligent white men. At all events, you ought to thank Judge Douglas for it. It is for your benefit it is made.

The other branch of it is, that in a struggle between the negro and the crocodile, he is for the negro. Well, I don't know that there is any struggle between the negro and crocodile, either. I suppose that if a crocodile (or as we old Ohio River boatmen used to call them, alligators) should come across a white man he would kill him if he could, and so he would a negro. But what, at last, is this proposition? I believe that

it is a sort of proposition in proportion, which may be stated thus: "As the negro is to the white man, so is the crocodile to the negro; and as the negro may rightfully treat the crocodile as a beast or reptile, so the white man may rightfully treat the negro as a beast or a reptile." That is really the "knip" of all that argument of his.

Now, my brother Kentuckians, who believe in this, you ought to thank Judge Douglas for having put that in a much more taking way than any of yourselves have done.

Again, Douglas's *great principle*, "popular sovereignty," as he calls it, gives you, by natural consequence, the revival of the slave-trade whenever you want it. If you question this, listen awhile, consider awhile, what I shall advance in support of that proposition.

He says that it is the sacred right of the man who goes into the Territories to have slavery if he wants it. Grant that for argument's sake. Is it not the sacred right of the man who don't go there equally to buy slaves in Africa, if he wants them? Can you point out the difference? The man who goes into the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, or any other new Territory, with the sacred right of taking a slave there which belongs to him, would certainly have no more right to take one there than I would, who own no slave, but who would desire to buy one and take him there. You will not say—you, the friends of Judge Douglas—that the man who does not own a slave, has an equal right to buy one and take him to the Territory, as the other does?

A voice—"I want to ask a question. Do n't foreign nations interfere with the slave-trade?"

Mr. Lincoln—Well! I understand it to be a principle of Democracy to whip foreign nations whenever they interfere with us.

Voice—"I only asked for information. I am a Republican myself."

Mr. Lincoln—You and I will be on the best terms in the world, but I do not wish to be diverted from the point I was trying to press.

I say that Douglas's popular sovereignty, establishing his sacred right in the people, if you please, if carried to its logical

conclusion, gives equally the sacred right to the people of the States or the Territories themselves to buy slaves, wherever they can buy them cheapest; and if any man can show a distinction, I should like to hear him try it. If any man can show how the people of Kansas have a better right to slaves because they want them, than the people of Georgia have to buy them in Africa, I want him to do it. I think it can not be done. If it is "popular sovereignty" for the people to have slaves because they want them, it is popular sovereignty for them to buy them in Africa because they desire to do so.

I know that Douglas has recently made a little effort—not seeming to notice that he had a different theory—has made an effort to get rid of that. He has written a letter, addressed to somebody, I believe, who resides in Iowa, declaring his opposition to the repeal of the laws that prohibit the African slave-trade. He bases his opposition to such repeal upon the ground that these laws are themselves one of the compromises of the Constitution of the United States. Now, it would be very interesting to see Judge Douglas, or any of his friends, turn to the Constitution of the United States and point out that compromise, to show where there is any compromise in the Constitution, or provision in the Constitution, express or implied, by which the administrators of that Constitution are under any obligation to repeal the African slave-trade. I know, or, at least, I think I know, that the framers of that Constitution did expect that the African slave-trade would be abolished at the end of twenty years, to which time their prohibition against its being abolished extended. I think there is abundant contemporaneous history to show that the framers of the Constitution expected it to be abolished. But while they so expected, they gave nothing for that expectation, and they put no provision in the Constitution requiring it should be so abolished. The migration or importation of such persons as the States shall see fit to admit shall not be prohibited, but a certain tax might be levied upon such importation. But what was to be done after that time? The Constitution is as silent about that as it is silent, personally, about myself. There is absolutely nothing in it about that subject—there is only the expectation of the framers of the Constitution that the slave-trade would

be abolished at the end of that time, and they expected it would be abolished, owing to public sentiment, before that time, and they put that provision in, in order that it should not be abolished before that time, for reasons, which I suppose they thought to be sound ones, but which I will not now try to enumerate before you.

But while they expected the slave-trade would be abolished at that time, they expected that the spread of slavery into the new Territories should also be restricted. It is as easy to prove that the framers of the Constitution of the United States expected that slavery should be prohibited from extending into the new Territories, as it is to prove that it was expected that the slave-trade should be abolished. Both these things were expected. One was no more expected than the other, and one was no more a compromise of the Constitution than the other. There was nothing said in the Constitution in regard to the spread of slavery into the Territories. I grant that; but there was something very important said about it by the same generation of men in the adoption of the old Ordinance of '87, through the influence of which you here in Ohio, our neighbors in Indiana, we in Illinois, our neighbors in Michigan and Wisconsin are happy, prosperous, teeming millions of free men. That generation of men, though not to the full extent members of the convention that framed the Constitution, were to some extent members of that convention, holding seats at the same time in one body and the other, so that if there was any compromise on either of these subjects, the strong evidence is that that compromise was in favor of the restriction of slavery from the new Territories.

But Douglas says he is unalterably opposed to the repeal of those laws; because, in his view, it is a compromise of the Constitution. You Kentuckians, no doubt, are somewhat offended with that! You ought not to be! You ought to be patient! You ought to know that if he said less than that, he would lose the power of "lugging" the Northern States to your support. Really, what you would push him to do would take from him his entire power to serve you. And you ought to remember how long, by precedent, Judge Douglas holds himself obliged to stick by compromises. You ought to

remember that by the time you yourselves think you are ready to inaugurate measures for the revival of the African slave-trade, that sufficient time will have arrived, by precedent, for Judge Douglas to break through that compromise. He says now nothing more strong than he said in 1849, when he declared in favor of the Missouri Compromise—that precisely four years and a quarter after he declared that compromise to be a sacred thing, which “no ruthless hand would ever dare to touch,” he himself brought forward the measure ruthlessly to destroy it. By a mere calculation of time it will only be four years more until he is ready to take back his profession about the sacredness of the compromise abolishing the slave-trade. Precisely as soon as you are ready to have his services in that direction, by fair calculation, you may be sure of having them.

But you remember and set down to Judge Douglas's debt, or discredit, that he, last year, said the people of Territories can, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, exclude your slaves from those Territories; that he declared by “unfriendly legislation,” the extension of your property into the new Territories may be cut off in the teeth of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

He assumed that position at Freeport on the 27th of August, 1858. He said that the people of the territories can exclude slavery in so many words. You ought, however, to bear in mind that he has never said it since. You may hunt in every speech that he has since made, and he has never used that expression once. He has never seemed to notice that he is stating his views differently from what he did then; but, by some sort of accident, he has always really stated it differently. He has always since then declared that “the Constitution does not carry slavery into the Territories of the United States beyond the power of the people legally to control it, as other property.” Now, there is a difference in the language used upon that former occasion and in this latter day. There may or may not be a difference in the meaning, but it is worth while considering whether there is not also a difference in meaning.

What is it to exclude? Why, it is to drive it out. It is in some way to put it out of the Territory. It is to force it across

the line, or change its character, so that as property it is out of existence. But what is the controlling it "as other property?" Is controlling it as other property the same thing as destroying it, or driving it away? I should think not. I should think the controlling of it as other property would be just about what you in Kentucky should want. I understand the controlling of property means the controlling of it for the benefit of the owner of it. While I have no doubt the Supreme Court of the United States would say "God-speed" to any of the Territorial Legislatures that should thus control slave property, they would sing quite a different tune if, by the pretense of controlling it, they were to undertake to pass laws which virtually excluded it, and that upon a very well-known principle to all lawyers, that what a Legislature can not directly do, it can not do by indirection; that as the Legislature has not the power to drive slaves out, they have no power by indirection, by tax, or by imposing burdens in any way on that property, to effect the same end, and that any attempt to do so would be held by the Dred Scott court unconstitutional.

Douglas is not willing to stand by his first proposition that they can exclude it, because we have seen that that proposition amounts to nothing more or less than the naked absurdity that you may lawfully drive out that which has a lawful right to remain. He admitted at first that the slave might be lawfully taken into the Territories under the Constitution of the United States, and yet asserted that he might be lawfully driven out. That being the proposition, it is the absurdity I have stated. He is not willing to stand in the face of that direct, naked, and impudent absurdity; he has, therefore, modified his language into that of being "*controlled as other property.*"

The Kentuckians don't like this in Douglas! I will tell you where it will go. He now swears by the court. He was once a leading man in Illinois to break down a court, because it had made a decision he did not like. But he now not only swears by the court, the courts having got to working for you, but he denounces all men that do not swear by the courts, as unpatriotic, as bad citizens. When one of these acts of unfriendly legislation shall impose such heavy burdens as to, in effect, destroy property in slaves in a Territory, and show plainly that there can

be no mistake in the purpose of the Legislature to make them so burdensome, this same Supreme Court will decide that law to be unconstitutional, and he will be ready to say for your benefit, "I swear by the court; I give it up;" and while that is going on he has been getting all his men to swear by the courts, and to give it up with him. In this again he serves you faithfully, and as I say, more wisely than you serve yourselves.

Again: I have alluded in the beginning of these remarks to the fact that Judge Douglas has made great complaint of my having expressed the opinion that this Government "can not endure permanently half slave and half free." He has complained of Seward for using different language, and declaring that there is an "irrepressible conflict" between the principles of free and slave labor. (A voice—"He says it is not original with Seward; that it is original with Lincoln.") I will attend to that immediately, sir. Since that time, Hickman, of Pennsylvania, expressed the same sentiment. He has never denounced Mr. Hickman: why? There is a little chance, notwithstanding that opinion in the mouth of Hickman, that he may yet be a Douglas man. That is the difference! It is not unpatriotic to hold that opinion, if a man is a Douglas man.

But neither I nor Seward nor Hickman is entitled to the enviable or unenviable distinction of having first expressed that idea. The same idea was expressed by the Richmond "Enquirer," in Virginia, in 1856—quite two years before it was expressed by the first of us. And while Douglas was pluming himself that in his conflict with my humble self, last year, he had "squelched out" that fatal heresy, as he delighted to call it, and had suggested that if he only had had a chance to be in New York and meet Seward, he would have "squelched" it there also, it never occurred to him to breathe a word against Pryor. I don't think that you can discover that Douglas ever talked of going to Virginia to "squelch" out that idea there. No. More than that, that same Roger A. Pryor was brought to Washington City and made the editor of the *par excellence* Douglas paper, after making use of that expression, which, in us, is so unpatriotic and heretical. From all this, my Kentucky friends may see that this opinion is heretical in his view only when it is expressed by men suspected of a desire that the

country shall all become free, and not when expressed by those fairly known to entertain the desire that the whole country shall become slave. When expressed by that class of men, it is in nowise offensive to him. In this, again, my friends of Kentucky, you have Judge Douglas with you.

There is another reason why you Southern people ought to nominate Douglas at your Convention at Charleston. That reason is the wonderful capacity of the man; the power he has of doing what would seem to be impossible. Let me call your attention to one of these apparently impossible things.

Douglas had three or four very distinguished men of the most extreme anti-slavery views of any men in the Republican party, expressing their desire for his re-election to the Senate last year. That would, of itself, have seemed to be a little wonderful; but that wonder is heightened when we see that Wise, of Virginia, a man opposed to them, a man who believes in the divine right of slavery, was also expressing his desire that Douglas should be re-elected; that another man that may be said to be kindred to Wise, Mr. Breckinridge, the Vice-President, and of your own State, was also agreeing with the anti-slavery men in the North, that Douglas ought to be re-elected. Still, to heighten the wonder, a Senator from Kentucky, who I have always loved with an affection as tender and endearing as I have ever loved any man; who was opposed to the anti-slavery men for reasons which seemed sufficient to him, and equally opposed to Wise and Breckinridge, was writing letters into Illinois to secure the re-election of Douglas. Now that all these conflicting elements should be brought, while at daggers' point with one another, to support him, is a feat that is worthy for you to note and consider. It is quite probable that each of these classes of men thought their views would gain something; that Wise and Breckinridge thought so too, as regards their opinions; that Mr. Crittenden thought that his views would gain something, although he was opposed to both these other men. It is probable that each and all of them thought that they were using Douglas, and it is yet an unsolved problem whether he was not using them all. If he was, then it is for you to consider whether that power to perform wonders is one for you lightly to throw away.

There is one other thing that I will say to you in this relation. It is but my opinion; I give it to you without a fee. It is my opinion that it is for you to take him or be defeated; and that if you do take him you may be beaten. You will surely be beaten if you do not take him. We, the Republicans and others forming the opposition of the country, intend to "stand by our guns," to be patient and firm, and in the long run to beat you whether you take him or not. We know that before we fairly beat you, we have to beat you both together. We know that you are "all of a feather," and that we have to beat you altogether, and we expect to do it. We don't intend to be very impatient about it. We mean to be as deliberate and calm about it as it is possible to be, but as firm and resolved as it is possible for men to be. When we do as we say, beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you.

I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as near as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institution; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution, and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you, so far as degenerated men (if we have degenerated) may, according to the examples of those noble fathers—Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly. We mean to marry your girls when we have a chance, the white ones I mean, and I have the honor to inform you that I once did have a chance in that way.

I have told you what we mean to do. I want to know, now, when that thing takes place, what do you mean to do. I often hear it intimated that you mean to divide the Union whenever a Republican, or anything like it is elected President of the United States. (A voice—"That is so.") "That is so," one of them says; I wonder if he is a Kentuckian? (A

voice—"He is a Douglas man.") Well, then, I want to know what you are going to do with your half of it? Are you going to split the Ohio down through, and push your half off a piece? Or are you going to keep it right alongside of us outrageous fellows? Or are you going to build up a wall some way between your country and ours, by which that movable property of yours can't come over here any more, to the danger of your losing it? Do you think you can better yourselves on that subject, by leaving us here under no obligation whatever to return those specimens of your movable property that come hither? You have divided the Union because we would not do right with you, as you think, upon that subject; when we cease to be under obligations to do anything for you, how much better off do you think you will be? Will you make war upon us and kill us all? Why, gentlemen, I think you are as gallant and as brave men as live; that you can fight as bravely in a good cause, man for man, as any other people living; that you have shown yourselves capable of this upon various occasions; but man for man, you are not better than we are, and there are not so many of you as there are of us. You will never make much of a hand at whipping us. If we were fewer in numbers than you, I think that you could whip us; if we were equal it would likely be a drawn battle; but being inferior in numbers, you will make nothing by attempting to master us.

But perhaps I have addressed myself as long, or longer, to the Kentuckians than I ought to have done. Inasmuch as I have said that whatever course you take we intend in the end to beat you. I propose to address a few remarks to our friends, by way of discussing with them the best means of keeping that promise, that I have in good faith made.

It may appear a little episodical for me to mention the topic of which I shall speak now. It is a favorable proposition of Douglas's that the interference of the General Government, through the Ordinance of '87, or through any other act of the General Government, never has made or ever can make a Free State; that the Ordinance of '87 did not make Free States of Ohio, Indiana or Illinois. That these States are free upon his "great principle" of popular sovereignty, because the

people of those several States have chosen to make them so. At Columbus, and probably here, he undertook to compliment the people, that they themselves have made the State of Ohio free, and that the Ordinance of '87 was not entitled in any degree to divide the honor with them. I have no doubt that the people of the State of Ohio did make her free according to their own will and judgment, but let the facts be remembered.

In 1802, I believe, it was you who made your first Constitution, with the clause prohibiting slavery, and you did it, I suppose, very nearly unanimously; but you should bear in mind that you—speaking of you as one people—that you did so unembarrassed by the actual presence of the institution among you; that you made it a Free State, not with the embarrassment upon you of already having among you many slaves, which if they had been here, and you had sought to make a Free State, you would not know what to do with. If they had been among you, embarrassing difficulties, most probably, would have induced you to tolerate a slave constitution instead of a free one, as indeed these difficulties have constrained every people on this continent who have adopted slavery.

Pray, what was it that made you free? What kept you free? Did you not find your country free when you came to decide that Ohio should be a Free State? It is important to inquire by what reason you found it so? Let us take an illustration between the States of Ohio and Kentucky. Kentucky is separated by this river Ohio, not a mile wide. A portion of Kentucky, by reason of the course of the Ohio, is further north than this portion of Ohio in which we now stand. Kentucky is entirely covered with slavery—Ohio is free from it. What made that difference? Was it climate? No! A portion of Kentucky was further north than this portion of Ohio. Was it soil? No! There is nothing in the soil of the one more favorable to slave labor than the other. It was not climate or soil that caused one side of the line to be entirely covered with slavery and the other side free of it. What was it? Study over it. Tell us, if you can, in all the range of conjecture, if there be any thing you can conceive

of that made that difference, other than that there was no law of any sort keeping it out of Kentucky, while the Ordinance of '87 kept it out of Ohio. If there is any other reason than this, I confess that it is wholly beyond my power to conceive of it. This, then, I offer to combat the idea that that ordinance has never made any State free.

I don't stop at this illustration. I come to the State of Indiana; and what I have said as between Kentucky and Ohio, I repeat as between Indiana and Kentucky; it is equally applicable. One additional argument is applicable also to Indiana. In her territorial condition she more than once petitioned Congress to abrogate the ordinance entirely, or at least so far as to suspend its operation for a time in order that they should exercise the "popular sovereignty" of having slaves if they wanted them. The men then controlling the General Government, imitating the men of the Revolution, refused Indiana that privilege. And so we have the evidence that Indiana supposed she could have slaves, if it were not for that ordinance; that she besought Congress to put that barrier out of the way; that Congress refused to do so, and it all ended at last in Indiana being a free State. Tell me not, then, that the Ordinance of '87 had nothing to do with making Indiana a Free State, when we find some men chafing against and only restrained by that barrier.

Come down again to our State of Illinois. The great Northwest Territory, including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, was acquired first, I believe, by the British government, in part at least, from the French. Before the establishment of our independence it became a part of Virginia, enabling Virginia after to transfer it to the General Government. There were French settlements in what is now Illinois, and at the same time there were French settlements in what is now Missouri—in the tract of country that was not purchased till about 1803. In these French settlements negro slavery had existed for many years—perhaps more than a hundred if not as much as two hundred years—at Kaskaskia, in Illinois, and at St. Genevieve, or Cape Girardeau, perhaps, in Missouri. The number of slaves was not very great, but there was about the same number in each place. They were there when we

acquired the Territory. There was no effort made to break up the relation of master and slave, and even the Ordinance of 1787 was not so enforced as to destroy slavery in Illinois; nor did the ordinance apply to Missouri at all.

What I want to ask your attention to, at this point, is that Illinois and Missouri came into the Union about the same time, Illinois in the latter part of 1818, and Missouri, after a struggle, I believe sometime in 1820. They had been filling up with American people about the same period of time; their progress enabling them to come into the Union about the same time. At the end of ten years, in which they had been so preparing (for it was about that period of time), the number of slaves in Illinois had actually decreased; while in Missouri, beginning with very few, at the end of that ten years there were about ten thousand. This being so, and it being remembered that Missouri and Illinois are, to a certain extent, in the same parallel of latitude—that the northern half of Missouri and the southern half of Illinois are in the same parallel of latitude—so that climate would have the same effect upon one as upon the other, and that in the soil there is no material difference, so far as bears upon the question of slavery being settled upon one or the other; there being none of those natural causes to produce a difference in filling them, and yet there being a broad difference in their filling up, we are led again to inquire what was the cause of that difference?

It is most natural to say that in Missouri there was no law to keep that country from filling up with slaves, while in Illinois there was the Ordinance of '87. The ordinance being there, slavery decreased during that ten years—the ordinance not being in the other, it increased from a few to ten thousand. Can anybody doubt the reason of the difference?

I think all these facts most abundantly prove that my friend Judge Douglas's proposition, that the Ordinance of '87, or the national restriction of slavery, never had a tendency to make a Free State, is a fallacy—a proposition without the shadow or substance of truth about it.

Douglas sometimes says that all the States (and it is part of this same proposition I have been discussing) that have become free, have become so upon his "great principle;" that the State

of Illinois itself came into the Union as a Slave State, and that the people, upon the "great principle" of popular sovereignty, have since made it a Free State. Allow me but a little while to state to you what facts there are to justify him in saying that Illinois came into the Union as a Slave State.

I have mentioned to you that there were a few old French slaves there. They numbered, I think, one or two hundred. Besides that, there had been a Territorial law for indenturing black persons. Under that law, in violation of the Ordinance of '87, but without any enforcement of the ordinance to overthrow the system, there had been a small number of slaves introduced as indentured persons. Owing to this, the clause for the prohibition of slavery was slightly modified. Instead of running like yours, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, of which the party shall have been duly convicted, should exist in the State, they said that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should thereafter be introduced, and that the children of indentured servants should be born free; and nothing was said about the few old French slaves. Out of this fact, that the clause for prohibiting slavery was modified because of the actual presence of it, Douglas asserts again and again that Illinois came into the Union as a Slave State. How far the facts sustain the conclusion that he draws, it is for intelligent and impartial men to decide. I leave it with you with these remarks, worthy of being remembered, that that little thing, those few indentured servants being there, was of itself sufficient to modify a constitution made by a people ardently desiring to have a free constitution; showing the power of the actual presence of the institution of slavery to prevent any people, however anxious to make a Free State, from making it perfectly so.

I have been detaining you longer, perhaps, than I ought to do.

I am in some doubt whether to introduce another topic upon which I could talk awhile. (Cries of "Go on," and "Give us it.") It is this, then: Douglas's popular sovereignty, as a principle, is simply this: If one man chooses to make a slave of another man, neither that man or anybody else has a right to object. Apply it to a government, as he seeks to apply it, and it is this: If, in a new territory, into which a few people are

beginning to enter for the purpose of making their homes, they choose to either exclude slavery from their limits, or to establish it there, however one or the other may affect the persons to be enslaved, or the infinitely greater number of persons who are afterward to inhabit that territory, or the other members of the family of communities, of which they are but an incipient member, or the general head of the family of States as parent of all, however their action may affect one or the other of these, there is no power or right to interfere. That is Douglas's popular sovereignty applied. Now, I think that there is a real popular sovereignty in the world. I think a definition of popular sovereignty, in the abstract, would be about this, that each man shall do precisely as he pleases with himself, and with all those things which exclusively concern him. Applied in government, this principle would be, that a general government shall do all those things which pertain to it, and all the local governments shall do precisely as they please in respect to those matters which exclusively concern them.

Douglas looks upon slavery as so insignificant that the people must decide that question for themselves, and yet they are not fit to decide who shall be their governor, judge, or secretary, or who shall be any of their officers. These are vast national matters in his estimation, but the little matter in his estimation is that of planting slavery there. That is purely of local interest, which nobody should be allowed to say a word about.

Labor is the great source from which nearly all, if not all, human comforts and necessities are drawn. There is a difference of opinion about the elements of labor in society. Some men assume that there is a necessary connection between capital and labor, and that connection draws within it the whole of the labor of the community. They assume that nobody works unless capital excites him to work. They begin next to consider what is the best way. They say there are but two ways; one is to hire men and to allure them to labor by their consent; the other is to buy the men and drive them to it, and that is slavery. Having assumed that, they proceed to discuss the question of whether the laborers themselves are better off in the condition of slaves or of hired laborers, and they usually decide that they are better off in the condition of slaves.

In the first place, I say that the whole thing is a mistake. That there is a certain relation between capital and labor, I admit. That it does exist, and rightfully exist, I think is true. That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests should after a while accumulate capital, and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace, and also, if they should choose, when they have accumulated it, to use it to save themselves from actual labor and hire other people to labor for them, is right. In doing so they do not wrong the man they employ, for they find men who have not of their own land to work upon, or shops to work in, and who are benefited by working for others, hired laborers, receiving their capital for it. Thus a few men that own capital, hire a few others, and these establish the relation of capital and labor rightfully; a relation of which I make no complaint. But I insist that that relation, after all, does not embrace more than one-eighth of the labor of the country.

(The speaker proceeded to argue that the hired laborer, with his ability to become an employer, must have every precedence over him who labors under the inducement of force. He continued:—)

I have taken upon myself in the name of some of you to say, that we expect upon these principles to ultimately beat them. In order to do so, I think we want and must have a national policy in regard to the institution of slavery, that acknowledges and deals with that institution as being wrong. Whoever desires the prevention of the spread of slavery and the nationalization of that institution yields all, when he yields to any policy that either recognizes slavery as being right or as being an indifferent thing. Nothing will make you successful but setting up a policy which shall treat the thing as being wrong. When I say this, I do not mean to say that this General Government is charged with the duty of redressing or preventing all the wrongs in the world; but I do think that it is charged with preventing and redressing all wrongs which are wrongs to itself. This Government is expressly charged with the duty of providing for the general welfare. We believe that the spreading out and perpetuity of the institution of slavery impairs the general welfare. We believe—nay, we know—that

that is the only thing that has ever threatened the perpetuity of the Union itself. The only thing which has ever menaced the destruction of the Government under which we live is this very thing. To repress this thing, we think, is providing for the general welfare. Our friends in Kentucky differ from us. We need not make our argument for them, but we who think it is wrong in all its relations, or in some of them at least, must decide as to our own actions, and our own course, upon our own judgment.

I say that we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it, and the general welfare does not require us to do so. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law, because the Constitution requires us, as I understand it, not to withhold such a law. But we must prevent the outspreading of the institution, because neither the Constitution nor general welfare requires us to extend it. We must prevent the revival of the African slave-trade, and the enacting by Congress of a Territorial slave code. We must prevent each of these things being done by either congresses or courts. The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.

To do these things we must employ instrumentalities. We must hold conventions; we must adopt platforms, if we conform to ordinary custom; we must nominate candidates, and we must carry elections. In all these things, I think that we ought to keep in view our real purpose, and in none do anything that stands adverse to our purpose. If we shall adopt a platform that fails to recognize or express our purpose, or elect a man that declares himself inimical to our purpose, we not only take nothing by our success, but we tacitly admit that we act upon no other principle than a desire to have "the loaves and fishes," by which, in the end, our apparent success is really an injury to us.

I know that this is very desirable with me, as with everybody else, that all the elements of the opposition shall unite in the next Presidential election, and in all future time. I am anxious that that should be, but there are things seriously to

be considered in relation to that matter. If the terms can be arranged, I am in favor of the union. But suppose we shall take up some man and put him upon one end or the other of the ticket, who declares himself against us in regard to the prevention of the spread of slavery; who turns up his nose and says he is tired of hearing anything more about it; who is more against us than against the enemy—what will be the issue? Why, he will get no Slave States after all; he has tried that already, until being beat is the rule for him. If we nominate him upon that ground he will not carry a Slave State, and not only so, but that portion of our men who are highstrung upon the principle we really fight for, will not go for him, and he won't get a single electoral vote anywhere, except, perhaps, in the State of Maryland. There is no use in saying to us that we are stubborn and obstinate, because we won't do some such thing as this. We can not do it. We can not get our men to vote it. I speak by the card, that we can not give the State of Illinois in such case by fifty thousand. We would be flatter down than the "Negro Democracy" themselves have the heart to wish to see us.

After saying this much, let me say a little on the other side. There are plenty of men in the Slave States that are altogether good enough for me to be either President or Vice-President, provided they will profess their sympathy with our purpose, and will place themselves on the ground that our men, upon principle, can vote for them. There are scores of them, good men in their character for intelligence and talent and integrity. If such a one will place himself upon the right ground, I am for his occupying one place upon the next Republican or Opposition ticket. I will heartily go for him. But, unless he does so place himself, I think it a matter of perfect nonsense to attempt to bring about a union upon any other basis; that if a union be made, the elements will scatter so that there can be no success for such a ticket, nor anything like success. The good old maxims of the Bible are applicable, and truly applicable, to human affairs; and in this, as in other things, we may say here, that he who is not for us is against us; he who gathereth not with us scattereth. I should be glad to have some of the many good, and able, and noble men of the South to place themselves

where we can confer upon them the high honor of an election upon one or the other end of our ticket. It would do my soul good to do that thing. It would enable us to teach them that, inasmuch as we select one of their own number to carry out our principles, we are free from the charge that we mean more than we say.

But, my friends, I have detained you much longer than I expected to do. I believe I may do myself the compliment to say that you have stayed and heard me with great patience, for which I return you my most sincere thanks.

A few things belonging to these wonderful speeches and their author deserve attention here. Although Mr. Lincoln had not yet formally given his assent to the plans of his friends in putting forward his name for the Presidency, there is no earthly use of beating around about his own desires on that point. Mr. Lincoln wanted to be President. He had long considered this high office possible with him; and in the famous debate with Judge Douglas he had amazed his friends by showing them that his own plans for the campaign reached far beyond the contest for the Senatorship with Mr. Douglas; that he really cared but little for it; he was shooting at larger game. The issues—local issues—directly involved, and the points in connection with them affecting himself, he made of secondary importance, or wholly ignored them. He introduced the campaign on national issues, and he had the power to foresee that where these would weaken him in that race, they would give him strength for the greater one on which he had fixed his heart in the future. He was wiser than all of his counselors. Many years before he had, to a great extent, shifted his politics from State

and local to national grounds. Even in his last race for the Illinois Legislature he had mainly ignored merely local topics and methods. This field was not broad enough for his feelings or his intellect. He desired to reach something of interest to all his countrymen. Even his stories he constructed on a national basis. They were not limited in their application to his State or his court circle; they were peculiar and applicable to his whole country. And all this tendency in the mind and conduct of Mr. Lincoln by no means depended upon his great purpose of becoming President. While the Presidency was at the bottom of all his ambitious dreams, his make-up was naturally too wide, comprehensive, just, and wise to enable him to take any real delight in matters and questions of local and transitory interest. Therefore, I do not wish to be understood as setting forth the idea that Abraham Lincoln's ambition controlled all his steps. This very conduct of which I am speaking was a matter rather of mind, of soul-growth, with him. He was entering the noblest stage of his life, where little is found to disturb the most enthusiastic admiration of the man. If his ambition comes in the way, his plain, earnest manners, his sadness and moments of forgetful story-telling, his wisdom, justice, and good conduct push it out of sight. Then, too, his ambition was, in the main, of the better, the admirable sort.

Mr. Lincoln was invited to Ohio to give some aid toward carrying the Senatorial race for the Republicans, and yet in his speeches there he did not, per-

haps, even refer to the candidates or the race, or in any way take note of politics as confined to Ohio. When reminded in his speech at Cincinnati to speak to Ohio men, he simply replied that he wished to be allowed to take his own course.

At the outset Mr. Lincoln took from the Scriptures and adopted as a political principle for the first time the startling truth that a house divided against itself can not stand. This bold step amazed and frightened his political friends and associates. In a local contest they saw no need of introducing such an issue at all; nor did they feel that there was really such an issue before the country at large, or that affairs were drifting into this "irrepressible conflict." But he was not mistaken in the signs of the times. On the 16th of June, 1858, he announced some great principles, and placed them on a general truth, which no respectable man had dared to controvert from the beginning of human history. At the start his friends troubled him about these matters, but he kept unswervingly on his way. He saw there was really but one issue before the country after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and he made straight toward that. He never made light of it, or laughed at its insignificance, or held out before men that there was no danger in it; that other things were above it, or that the good genius which had so long guided the destinies of his country would not forsake it now. It was with him a fair case of a house divided against itself. There could be but two solutions to this difficulty, and one of them was inevitable.

In his rougher days at horse-races, men-races, wrestles, fights, quarrels, or anything, he had been deemed the fairest judge who had ever been called to decide between men and men, friends or foes, or enemies and friends. And this good faculty did not desert him when he came to higher and better things.

“We believe that the spreading out and perpetuity of the institution of slavery impairs the general welfare. We believe—nay, we know—that that is the only thing that has ever threatened the perpetuity of the Union itself.”

Amidst all the folly, chicanery, and rubbish of American politics here rang out a great solitary truth, and yet one of the hardest to reach the average political understanding. Before the war of the rebellion for slavery, during that war, and after it, men were to be found everywhere in vast numbers who cheated themselves into the opinion that slavery was not the root of all our evils, was not the cause of the war. Even at this day there may be met a few of these persons, whose opinions on some subjects are worthy of respect. It was an unwelcome truth to the great mass of Americans, North and South. Nothing more clearly established its incontrovertible character than the timidity and fear with which the boldest approached it, and the weak and politic strove to put down the barest unfriendly reference to it. To argue at this day that slavery was not the only thing that did or could have disturbed the perpetuity of this Union is unworthy of contempt, let alone respectful notice here or any place else.

Abraham Lincoln saw this truth, not as a captious and disorderly Abolitionist, but as a calm, frank, and wise statesman; and he saw the time had come to utter it. He was brave and manly enough to do this; and from it he never departed. It was his text in the campaign in Illinois in 1858, and it was the same in Ohio the next year. It was with him the only issue. All others embraced it, or belonged to it. "Squatter sovereignty" was invented for it. "Popular sovereignty" meant it. Southern rights, Southern wrongs meant it. Everything involved it or meant it. Slavery was the only thing which imperiled the Union. If Mr. Lincoln was buried under this truth in 1858, he was willing to utter it all the same. And throughout his faithful adherence to it, both in his feelings and speeches he was the most fair and unobjectionable of all the enemies of slavery. Toward the South he had no ill-feeling.

Mr. Douglas did ignorantly declare that Mr. Lincoln was mistaken about this in the Illinois debates, that slavery was not the cause of the New England talk of secession in 1814, or of nullification in South Carolina in 1832. But in 1803 a few persons in New England talked of separation on the ground of the acquisition of Louisiana by Mr. Jefferson, believing that this territory would be appropriated to the spread of slavery. The nullification movement of John C. Calhoun was in the interest of slavery, and had there not been a slave section to be supported as such at that day there never would have been such thing as nullification heard of. And even the Hart-

ford Convention of 1814, about which much doubt still hangs, and which at the most was without length, breadth, or known substance, had for its prop the pretended dread of the "Virginia Dynasty" and its so-called rule-or-ruin ambition.

Nor had what Mr. Lincoln did in reference to that section and its pet "institution," any other foundation than one conceived to rest on just and right motives, for the white race first, and for the black race ultimately. The series of wonderful speeches delivered by Mr. Lincoln in 1858 and 1859, shows too plainly to be overlooked here, that there was one other object or subject besides slavery which he considered worthy of his attention, and which he never ceased to pursue. That was Judge Douglas. Still he considered Mr. Douglas as an appendage to the great issue, and finally came somehow to look upon him in that sense. He utterly despised the political trickery and sham and falsehood there was about the little man, while he admired his versatile powers and wonderful ability. His own ambitious schemes early became some way involved with the apparent aspirations of Mr. Douglas; and at first he viewed him with a jealous eye. There were certainly many other able men in both parties in Illinois, but Mr. Douglas was the only one who seemed to claim his care unceasingly and unrelentingly. And although after the beginning of the great contest of 1858 he entirely lost his ill-feeling for Mr. Douglas, if he ever had any, his pursuit of him became more thorough and systematic. There were evidently two phases to

this pursuit of Mr. Douglas. One was on account of his connection with the all-absorbing subject of slavery, his great vulnerability as a politician; and the other the fact of his being a shining, brilliant Presidential star. On this latter point it is difficult, perhaps, to divest his pursuit of Mr. Douglas of some sense of personal animosity. There can be little doubt of the fact that he desired and meant to break down and forever ruin Mr. Douglas's chances for the Presidency. I would consider this matter mean and indefensible, and should offer no kind of apology for it in Mr. Lincoln, only on the ground that he always honestly considered Mr. Douglas a tricky politician; and now became deeply and earnestly convinced that his Presidency would be a great misfortune to the country. He believed Mr. Douglas not only radically wrong in his political tenets, but also politic and vacillating and elastic enough to suit them to any purpose in the line of his personal schemes of self-aggrandizement. Mr. Douglas had been quite useful to the State of Illinois, at any rate, and a very respectable minority of his countrymen do not share with Mr. Lincoln this severe judgment.

This review of Mr. Lincoln's remarkable contest with Stephen A. Douglas may be fitly closed by the following from the pen of a very ready writer, made when his own ear had been forever closed to the charms of friendly eulogium:—

“It was during this memorable political struggle, which presently led the champions to address public meetings far beyond the limits of their State, that I first saw and heard

Abraham Lincoln. It was at Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, an important point as being at the very center of the country, and on the line separating the Free from the Slave States. Across the Ohio River, narrower than the Thames, rise the hills of Kentucky, and one may (or could) stand in the streets of Cincinnati and see slaves at their work. From the towns of Newport and Covington, on the Kentucky side, hundreds of persons were in the habit of coming to the political meetings of the city, or to witness the performances of their favorite actors, among whom may have been Wilkes Booth. To the great delight of the Kentuckians, and of the Democracy, so-called, Mr. Douglas had delivered a public address there advocating what he used to call his 'gur-reat per-rinciple' that the new-born Territories should be allowed to arrange their own institutions—and especially to introduce or exclude slavery—as freely as full-grown States. Mr. Lincoln was soon after invited to the city. The meeting was in a large public square, and two or three thousands of persons were present, possibly more, to hear this new man. Party feeling was running very high, and there were adverse parties in the crowd who had come with the intention of disturbing the meeting. Mr. Lincoln appeared on a balcony in the clear moonlight, and without paying the slightest attention to the perturbations of the multitude, began his address. I had at first paused on the skirts of the crowd, meaning to leave soon; but an indefinable something in the tones of the man's voice induced me to go closer. Surely if there were to be chosen a figure-head for America it must be this! There was something undeniably grotesque about the face, and yet not a coarse line; it was battered and bronzed, but the light of an eye, both gentle and fiery, kept it from being hard. The nose was a good, strong buttress—such as Bonaparte would have valued—to a solid brow; and the forehead rose to its greatest height in the region assigned to the benevolent and the conscientious

organs, declining along those of firmness and self-esteem into what I should call a decidedly feeble occiput. But never was there a case in which the sage's request—'Speak, that I may see you'—had more need to be repeated; for a voice more flexible, more attuned to every kind of expression, and to carry truth in every tone, was never allotted to mortal. Although he seemed to me oddly different from any other man whom I had seen, he seemed also related to them all, and to have lineaments characteristic of every section of the country; and this is why I thought he might well be taken as its figure-head. His manner of speaking in public was simple, direct, and almost religious; he was occasionally humorous, but rarely told anecdotes as he did in private conversation; and there was no sarcasm, no showing of the teeth. I had not listened to him long, on the occasion to which I refer, before I perceived that there was a certain artistic ability in him as a public speaker, which his audience would least recognize when it was most employed. Early in the address some adverse allusion to slavery brought a surge of hisses, but when it broke at his feet, there was the play of a faint smile on his face as he gathered from it the important knowledge of the exact proportion of Kentucky which he had to deal with on the occasion. I have often wondered that Mr. Lincoln's power as an orator—surpassed as it is by that of only one other American—is so little known or thought of in Europe; and I have even found the impression that he was, as a speaker, awkward, heavy, and ungrammatical. It is a singular misjudgment. For terse, well-pronounced, clear speech; for a careful and easy selection of the fit word for the right place; for perfect tones; for quiet, chaste, and dignified manner—it would be hard to find the late President's superior.

CHAPTER XV.

MR. LINCOLN IN KANSAS, NEW YORK, NEW ENGLAND,
AND IN FIVE POINTS—AT COOPER INSTITUTE—
LAST GREAT POLITICAL SPEECH.

IN October, 1859, Mr. Lincoln received an invitation to speak in New York, or, more strictly speaking, at Mr. Beecher's Church in Brooklyn. This invitation he was not slow in accepting, and asking permission to take a political subject. This, of course, was agreed to, as it was not probably expected or desired that he should select any other subject. In another short letter Mr. Lincoln fixed the time late in February, 1860, to give him opportunity, amidst his other employments, to prepare himself. There is some ground for belief that at the time of receiving this unexpected invitation, Mr. Lincoln was still ignorant of his very ordinary ability to speak on any subject but politics. Mr. Lamon tells that "Billy" Herndon set Lincoln right at this critical moment. When Mr. Lincoln informed his partner of his call from New York, he also asked him for his advice as to a topic. "Dear William" was glad of the opportunity to say that the occasion was one not to be lost, and that there was but one subject for him, and that was politics; that was his "forte." Mr. Lincoln was greatly pleased with the idea of visiting New

York in such a capacity; nor was he long in deciding that his subject ought to be as Herndon indicated.

In December, he made a trip to Kansas, and delivered speeches at Leavenworth and several other points. He was warmly received in Kansas by the Republicans, who remembered his good service in the cause of freedom. His speeches were, to a considerable extent, repetitions in substance of those delivered in Ohio and Illinois, but their fresh and manly style greatly fascinated the people of Kansas.

During the winter of 1859, Mr. Lincoln held a council with some of his political friends, and consented for them to secure his nomination for the Presidency, if they could. There were some strong men in the Republican ranks, but he felt justified, he thought, in view of all that had been said and done on his account, to stand among them as a competitor. In this state of affairs he reached New York City on the 25th of February, where he learned for the first time that Cooper Institute, instead of Mr. Beecher's Church, had been decided upon as the place for his speech. This made it necessary for him to spend most of the day in reviewing his speech, and changing it to suit the place where he was to speak. On Sunday he heard Mr. Beecher preach, and on Monday night, the 27th, he delivered his great speech.

When the committee visited him in the evening to accompany him to the Institute, he was found incased in a new and badly wrinkled suit of black cloth, in which he felt "ill at ease." Nor was he

able to furnish the newspaper reporters with copies of his speech, and felt somewhat surprised at the suggestion that the New York papers would publish all of his speech. Notwithstanding all this awkwardness and ignorance of the usages of New York, he managed to make a very good impression on his visitors and the committee, and was subsequently very highly eulogized for speaking kindly of everybody, and especially of Mr. Douglas. He had spent part of the day in looking at the "sights," and, no doubt, entered the hall that evening with a deep sense of his own insignificance and the magnitude of the task before him.

He found awaiting him a large audience of men and women, and on the stage William Cullen Bryant, as the presiding officer, surrounded by numerous political leaders of the city. Mr. Bryant introduced him to the audience, without any flourish, as "an eminent citizen of the West, known to them only by reputation."

Mr. Lincoln began his speech in a monotonous and hardly audible tone, a fault many of the best trained and widely experienced speakers have never been able or disposed to correct in themselves, but gradually gained confidence, and soon, in a clear and agreeable voice, easily made himself heard throughout the hall. His manner and style soon gave intense interest to his hearers, who were at once enlisted in his favor. At every fine point they showed their appreciation of the frank and interesting speaker by outbursts of applause. No political speaker had ever

before, perhaps, so readily gained the favor of a New York audience. The following is

THE COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK,—
The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation.

In his speech last autumn, at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in "The New York Times," Senator Douglas said: "Our fathers, when they framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: "What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?"

What is the frame of Government under which we live?

The answer must be: "The Constitution of the United States." That Constitution consists of the original framed in 1787 (and under which the present Government first went into operation), and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present Government. It is almost exactly true to say they framed it, and it is altogether true to say they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time. Their names, being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated.

I take these "thirty-nine," for the present, as being "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live."

What is the question which, according to the text, those

fathers understood just as well, and even better than we do now? It is this: Does the proper division of local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government to control as to slavery in our Federal Territories?

Upon this, Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. This affirmative and denial form an issue; and this issue—this question—is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood better than we.

Let us now inquire whether the “thirty-nine,” or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and if they did, how they acted upon it—how they expressed that better understanding.

In 1784—three years before the Constitution—the United States then owning the North-western Territory, and no other, the Congress of the Confederation had before them the question of prohibiting slavery in that Territory; and four of the “thirty-nine” who afterward framed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on that question. Of these, Roger Sherman, Thomas Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson voted for the prohibition; thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory. The other of the four—James McHenry—voted against the prohibition, showing that, for some cause, he thought it improper to vote for it.

In 1787, still before the Constitution, but while the Convention was in session framing it, and while the North-western Territory still was the only Territory owned by the United States; the same question of prohibiting slavery in the Territory again came before the Congress of the Confederation, and three more of the “thirty-nine” who afterward signed the Constitution, were in that Congress, and voted on the question. They were William Blunt, William Few, and Abraham Baldwin; and they all voted for the prohibition; thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory. This time the prohibition became a law, being part of what is now well known as the Ordinance of '87.

The question of Federal control of slavery in the Territories

seems not to have been directly before the Convention which framed the original Constitution ; and hence it is not recorded that the "thirty-nine" or any of them, while engaged on that instrument, expressed any opinion on that precise question.

In 1789, by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution, an act was passed to enforce the Ordinance of '87, including the prohibition of slavery in the North-western Territory. The bill for this act was reported by one of the "thirty-nine," Thomas Fitzsimmons, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It went through all its stages without a word of opposition, and finally passed both branches without yeas and nays, which is equivalent to a unanimous passage. In this Congress there were sixteen of the "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman, Wm. S. Johnson, Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, Thos. Fitzsimmons, William Few, Abraham Baldwin, Rufus King, William Patterson, George Clymer, Richard Bassett, George Read, Pierce Butler, Daniel Carroll, James Madison.

This shows that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, properly forbade Congress to prohibit slavery in the Federal Territory ; else both their fidelity to correct principle, and their oath to support the Constitution, would have constrained them to oppose the prohibition.

Again, George Washington, another of the "thirty-nine," was then President of the United States, and, as such, approved and signed the bill, thus completing its validity as a law, and thus showing that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory.

No great while after the adoption of the original Constitution, North Carolina ceded to the Federal Government the country now constituting the State of Tennessee ; and a few years later Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi and Alabama. In both deeds of cession it was made a condition by the ceding States that the Federal Government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country.

Besides this, slavery was then actually in the ceded country. Under these circumstances, Congress, on taking charge of these countries, did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them. But they did interfere with it—take control of it—even there, to a certain extent. In 1798 Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory from any place without the United States, by fine, and giving freedom to slaves so brought. This act passed both branches of Congress without yeas and nays. In that Congress were three of the “thirty-nine” who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, George Read, and Abraham Baldwin. They all, probably, voted for it. Certainly they would have placed their opposition to it upon record, if, in their understanding, any line dividing local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory.

In 1803 the Federal Government purchased the Louisiana country. Our former territorial acquisitions came from certain of our own States; but this Louisiana country was acquired from a foreign nation. In 1804 Congress gave a territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the people. Congress did not, in the territorial act, prohibit slavery; but they did interfere with it, take control of it, in a more marked and extensive way than they did in the case of Mississippi. The substance of the provision therein made, in relation to slaves, was:

First. That no slaves should be imported into the Territory from foreign parts.

Second. That no slave should be carried into it who had been imported into the United States since the first day of May, 1798.

Third. That no slave should be carried into it, except by the owner, and for his own use as a settler; the penalty in all the cases being a fine upon the violator of the law, and freedom to the slave.

This act also was passed without yeas and nays. In the

Congress which passed it, there were two of the "thirty-nine." They were Abraham Baldwin and Jonathan Dayton. As stated in the case of Mississippi, it is probable they both voted for it. They would not have allowed it to pass without recording their opposition to it, if, in their understanding, it violated either the line proper dividing local from Federal authority or any provision of the Constitution.

In 1819-20 came and passed the Missouri question. Many votes were taken, by yeas and nays, in both branches of Congress, upon the various phases of the general question. Two of the "thirty-nine," Rufus King and Charles Pinckney, were members of that Congress. Mr. King steadily voted for slavery prohibition and against all compromises, while Mr. Pinckney as steadily voted against slavery prohibition and against all compromises. By this Mr. King showed that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, was violated by Congress prohibiting slavery in Federal Territory; while Mr. Pinckney, by his votes, showed that, in his understanding, there was some sufficient reason for opposing such prohibition in that case.

The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the "thirty-nine," or of any of them, upon the direct issue, which I have been able to discover.

To enumerate the persons who thus acted as being four in 1784, three in 1787, seventeen in 1789, three in 1798, two in 1804, and two in 1819-20—there would be thirty-one of them. But this would be counting John Langdon, Roger Sherman, William Few, Rufus King, and George Read, each twice, and Abraham Baldwin four times. The true number of those of the "thirty-nine" whom I have shown to have acted upon the question, which, by the text they understood better than we, is twenty-three, leaving sixteen not shown to have acted upon it in any way.

Here, then, we have twenty-three out of our "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the government under which we live, who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they "understood just as well, and even better than we do now;" and twenty-one of them—a clear majority of the whole "thirty-

nine"—so acting upon it as to make them guilty of gross political impropriety and willful perjury, if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution they had made themselves and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. Thus the twenty-one acted; and as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder.

Two of the twenty-three voted against Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Federal Territories, in the instances in which they acted upon the question. But for what reasons they so voted is not known. They may have done so because they thought a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some provision or principle of the Constitution, stood in the way; or they may, without any such question, have voted against the prohibition on what appeared to them to be sufficient grounds of expediency. No one who has sworn to support the Constitution can conscientiously vote for what he understands to be an unconstitutional measure, however expedient he may think it; but one may and ought to vote against a measure which he deems unconstitutional, if, at the same time, he deems it inexpedient. It, therefore, would be unsafe to set down even the two who voted against the prohibition as having done so because, in their understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory.

The remaining sixteen of the "thirty-nine," so far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of Federal control of slavery in the Federal Territories. But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon that question would not have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all.

For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any person, however distinguished, other than the thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution; and, for the same reason, I have also omitted whatever understand-

ing may have been manifested by any of the "thirty-nine" even, on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave-trade, and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of Federal control of slavery in Federal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did. Among that sixteen were several of the most noted anti-slavery men of those times, as Dr. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and Gouverneur Morris, while there was not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina.

The sum of the whole is, that of our "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one—a clear majority of the whole—certainly understood that no proper division of local from Federal authority, nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories, while all the rest probably had the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question better than we.

But, so far, I have been considering the understanding of the question manifested by the framers of the original Constitution. In and by the original instrument, a mode was provided for amending it; and, as I have already stated, the present frame of government under which we live consists of that original, and twelve amendatory articles framed and adopted since. Those who now insist that Federal control of slavery in Federal Territories violates the Constitution, point us to the provisions which they suppose it thus violates; and, as I understand, they all fix upon provisions in these amendatory articles, and not in the original instrument. The Supreme Court, in the *Dred Scott* case, plant themselves upon the fifth amendment, which provides that "no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law;" while Senator Douglas and his peculiar adherents plant themselves upon the tenth amendment, providing that "the powers not granted by the Constitution are reserved to the States respectively, and to the people.

Now, it so happens that these amendments were framed by

the first Congress which sat under the Constitution—the identical Congress which passed the act already mentioned, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the North-western Territory. Not only was it the same Congress, but they were the identical, same individual men who, at the same session, and at the same time within the session, had under consideration and in progress toward maturity, these Constitutional amendments and this act prohibiting slavery in all the territory the nation then owned. The Constitutional amendments were introduced before, and passed after the act enforcing the Ordinance of '87; so that during the whole pendency of the act to enforce the Ordinance, the Constitutional amendments were also pending.

That Congress, consisting in all of seventy-six members, including sixteen of the framers of the original Constitution, as before stated, were pre-eminently our fathers who framed that part of the Government under which we live, which is now claimed as forbidding the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories.

It is not a little presumptuous in any one at this day to affirm that the two things which that Congress deliberately framed and carried to maturity at the same time, are absolutely inconsistent with each other? And does not such affirmation become impudently absurd when coupled with the other affirmation, from the same mouth, that those who did the two things alleged to be inconsistent understood whether they really were inconsistent better than we—better than he who affirms that they are inconsistent?

It is surely safe to assume that the “thirty-nine” framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members of the Congress, which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called “our fathers who framed the Government under which we live.” And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever, in his whole life, declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century (and I might

almost say prior to the beginning of the last half of the present century), declare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. To those who now so declare, I give, not only "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live," but with them all other living men within the century in which it was framed, among whom to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them.

Now, and here, let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so, would be to discard all the lights of current experience; to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is, that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, can not stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we.

If any man, at this day, sincerely believes that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history and less leisure to study it, into the false belief that "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live" were of the same opinion—thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. If any man at this day sincerely believes "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live" used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves; and especially

should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they "understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

But enough. Let all who believe that "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now," speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask, all Republicans desire, in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of, and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guarantees those fathers gave it be not grudgingly, but fully and fairly maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content.

And now, if they would listen, as I suppose they will not, I would address a few words to the Southern people.

I would say to them: You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I consider that in the general qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to "Black Republicans." In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of "Black Republicanism" as the first thing to be attended to. Indeed, such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable prerequisite—license, so to speak—among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all.

Now, can you, or not, be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves?

Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify.

You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section—gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin

to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You can not escape this conclusion; and yet are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings you to where you ought to have started—to the discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet it as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No? Then you really believe that the principle which our fathers who framed the Government under which we live thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again, upon their official oaths, is, in fact so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the North-western Territory, which act embodied the policy of the Government upon that subject, up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it he wrote La Fayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should some time have a confederacy of Free States.

Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your

hands against us, or in our hands against you? Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us who sustain his policy, or upon you who repudiate it? We respect that warning of Washington, and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application of it.

But you say you are conservative, eminently conservative, while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort. What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by our fathers who framed the Government under which we live; while you with one accord reject and scout, spit upon that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new. True, you disagree among yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You have considerable variety of new propositions and plans, but you are unanimous in rejecting and denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of you are for reviving the foreign slave-trade; some for a Congressional slave-code for the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit slavery within their limits; some for maintaining slavery in the Territories through the judiciary; some for the "gurreat purrinciple" that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object," fantastically called "popular sovereignty;" but never a man among you in favor of Federal prohibition of slavery in Federal Territories, according to the practice of our fathers who framed the Government under which we live. Not one of your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our Government originated. Consider, then, whether your claim of conservatism for yourselves, and your charge of destructiveness against us, are based on the most clear and stable foundations.

Again, you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not we, but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers. We resisted, and still resist, your innovation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its former proportions? Go back to that

old policy. What has been will be again, under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, readopt the precepts and policy of the old times.

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it; and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown!! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable to not designate the man, and prove the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable to assert it, and especially to persist in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true, is simply malicious slander.

Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair; but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We do not believe it. We know we hold to no doctrine, and make no declarations, which were not held to and made by our fathers who framed the Government under which we live. You never dealt fairly by us in this affair. When it occurred, some important State elections were near at hand, and you were in evident glee with the belief that, by charging the blame upon us, you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came, and your expectations were not quite fulfilled. Every Republican man knew that, as to himself at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Surely, this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live, declare our belief that slavery is wrong; but the slaves do not hear us declare even this. For anything we say or do, the slaves would scarcely know there is a Republican party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it but for your misrepresentations of us in their hearing. In your political contests among yourselves, each

faction charges the other with sympathy with Black Republicanism; and then, to give point to the charge, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood and thunder among the slaves.

Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection twenty-eight years ago, in which, at least, three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry? You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was got up by Black Republicanism. In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general, or even a very extensive, slave insurrection is possible. The indispensable concert of action can not be attained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary free men, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains.

Much is said by Southern people about the affection of slaves for their masters and mistresses; and a part of it, at least, is true. A plot for an uprising could scarcely be devised and communicated to twenty individuals before some one of them, to save the life of a favorite master or mistress, would divulge it. This is the rule; and the slave revolution in Hayti was not an exception to it, but a case occurring under peculiar circumstances. The gunpowder-plot of British history, though not connected with slaves, was more in point. In that case only about twenty were admitted to the secret; and yet one of them, in his anxiety to save a friend, betrayed the plot to that friend, and, by consequence, averted the calamity. Occasional poisonings from the kitchen, and open or stealthy assassinations in the field, and local revolts extending to a score or so, will continue to occur as the natural results of slavery; but no general insurrection of slaves, as I think, can happen in this country for a long time. Whoever much fears, or much hopes, for such an event, will be alike disappointed.

In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, "It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and their places be, *pari passu*,

filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up."

Mr. Jefferson did not mean to say, nor do I, that the power of emancipation is in the Federal Government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the power of emancipation, I speak of the slaveholding States only.

The Federal Government, however, as we insist, has the power of restraining the extension of the institution—the power to insure that a slave insurrection shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from slavery.

John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than in his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry, were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case, and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Helper's book, and the like, break up the Republican organization? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature can not be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this nation which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You can not destroy that judgment and feeling, that sentiment, by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire, but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box, into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would

the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?

But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your Constitutional rights.

That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right, plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations, you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed Constitutional right of yours to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is, that you will destroy the Government unless you be allowed to construe and enforce the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

This, plainly stated, is your language to us. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed Constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the courts have decided the question for you in a sort of way. The courts have substantially said, it is your Constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property.

When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided court by a bare majority of the judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact—the statement in the opinion that “the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution.”

An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not distinctly and expressly affirmed

in it. Bear in mind the judges do not pledge their judicial opinion that such right is impliedly affirmed in the Constitution; but they pledge their veracity that it is distinctly and expressly affirmed there—"distinctly" that is, not mingled with anything else—"expressly" that is, in words meaning just that, without the aid of any inference, and susceptible of no other meaning.

If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would be open to others to show that neither the word "slave" nor "slavery" is to be found in the Constitution, nor the word "property" even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or slavery, and that wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a "person;" and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as "service or labor due," as a "debt" payable in service or labor. Also, it would be open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to exclude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

To show all this is easy and certain.

When this obvious mistake of the judges shall be brought to their notice, is it not reasonable to expect that they will withdraw the mistaken statement, and reconsider the conclusion based upon it?

And then it is to be remembered that "our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live"—the men who made the Constitution—decided this same Constitutional question in our favor long ago; decided it without a division among themselves, when making the decision; without division among themselves about the meaning of it after it was made, and, so far as any evidence is left, without basing it upon any mistaken statement of facts.

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this Government, unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action?

But you will not abide the election of a Republican Presi-

dent. In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us!

That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth: "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!"

To be sure what the robber demanded of me—my money—was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and the threat of death to me to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great confederacy shall be at peace and in harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill-temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them?

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know because we know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, what will satisfy them? Simply this: We must not only let them alone, but we must, somehow, convince them that we do let them alone. This, we know by experience, is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them, from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has

had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

These natural, and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only: cease to call slavery *wrong*, and join them in calling it *right*. And this must be done thoroughly—done in *acts* as well as in *words*. Silence will not be tolerated; we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our Free State constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

I am quite aware they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us: "Let us alone, do nothing to us, and say what you please about slavery." But we do let them alone, have never disturbed them; so that, after all, it is what we say which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing until we cease saying.

I am also aware they have not, as yet, in terms demanded the overthrow of our Free State constitutions. Yet those constitutions declare the wrong of slavery with more solemn emphasis, than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding as they do that slavery is morally right and socially elevating, they can not cease to demand a full national recognition of it, as a legal right and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right,

we can not justly object to its nationality, its universality; if it is wrong, they can not justly insist upon its extension, its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right. All we ask they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the Nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States?

If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored; contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man; such as a policy of "do n't care" on a question about which all true men do care; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it.

No wonder this refined New York audience was charmed by this plain truth-teller. No politician had ever before, perhaps, addressed the people of New York in such simple, straightforward, reasonable, and

just language. The subject was old, but this awkward man gave it a new strength, and clothed it in a new light. The old maxim of kings and political parties was reversed, and an earnest appeal made for the new doctrine that "right makes might." This was Mr. Lincoln's last and greatest speech, the last well-digested and thorough, which was generally circulated, and which received a world-wide recognition. Designing it for the whole country, he had spent much time and care in its preparation. It was his last great bid for the Presidency. It set all New York to thinking, and even with the strong preferences and hopes for Mr. Seward, not a few Republicans of that State began to feel that the substitution of this earnest, wise, strong, fair, and honest man for their favorite might be no misfortune to the country.

For days the newspapers contained favorable comments on this wonderful speech. Its pure English was above criticism, and its faultless logic was the general subject of admiration. The Republican papers throughout the country printed it, and all the country read it. It was also published in various campaign forms, and read again and again by the Republicans and others all over the land. When the gems of our political oratory are gathered to themselves this Cooper Institute speech of Abraham Lincoln's must form the center around which all others may be set. When unpartisan, fair, candid, philosophical minds will throw aside with disgust the vast, almost endless, political writings, speeches, and orations of his coun-

trymen, this speech of Mr. Lincoln, and those made in Ohio and Illinois by him, will be reserved as treasures against the wreck of time.

There were points in the lives or characters of all of the Presidents which have started my enthusiasm, and this I have never attempted to conceal. And while I have had this feeling kindled, here and there, over sentiments and passages of speeches and writings throughout the vast field of political literature through which I have been compelled to travel and work, I confess that in it all nothing has so excited my unbounded and unbroken admiration as these speeches of Abraham Lincoln, from the "House-divided-against-itself" to Cooper Institute, from the 17th of June, 1858, to the 27th of February, 1860. And I say this without necessarily identifying myself with their sentiments, but with their language, their style, their method, their logic, and the indisputable air of fairness and honesty they carry with them. It is also mainly for this reason that I have concluded to reproduce and fix any of them here for convenience of reference in the time to come.

After his speech Mr. Lincoln took supper with the Atheneum Club, and succeeded in making himself even more agreeable and attractive than he had been able to do on the stage. He was pleased with his reception at Cooper Institute, as he always was with anything good which happened to himself, and although, to some extent, lost in the great city, he found himself again amidst his stories, and generous and manly friends. From New York he went to

New England, designing to see his son, Robert, then in Harvard College, and to fill some invitations to speak at various points, especially in Connecticut. He spoke at Concord, and Manchester, New Hampshire, and of him the editor of "The Mirror," a neutral paper, of Manchester, thus wrote:—

"He spoke an hour and a half with great fairness, great apparent candor, and with wonderful interest. He did not abuse the South, the Administration, or the Democrats, or indulge in any personalities, with the exception of a few hits at Douglas's notions. He is far from prepossessing in personal appearance, and his voice is disagreeable; and yet he wins your attention and good-will from the start. . . . He is not a wit, a humorist, or a clown; yet so great a vein of pleasantry and good nature pervades what he says, gilding over a deep current of practical argument, he keeps his hearers in a smiling mood, with their mouths open ready to swallow all he says. His sense of the ludicrous is very keen; and an exhibition of that is a clincher of all his arguments, not the ludicrous acts of persons, but ludicrous ideas. Hence he is never offensive, and steals away willingly into his train of belief persons who were opposed to him. For the first half-hour his opponents would agree with every word he uttered; and from that point he began to lead them off, little by little, until it seemed as if he had got them all into his fold."

On his way home Mr. Lincoln again stopped in New York, staid over Sunday, and again heard Henry Ward Beecher preach. But he had no desire to attract attention, and even few of his friends and admirers were aware of his presence. While on this, or his former appearance in New York, he visited the

Five-Points Sunday-school, and of this visit I find the following interesting account:—

“Our Sunday-school in the Five Points was assembled, one Sabbath morning, a few months since, when I noticed a tall and remarkable-looking man enter the room and take a seat among us. He listened with fixed attention to our exercises, and his countenance manifested such genuine interest, that I approached him and suggested that he might be willing to say something to the children. He accepted the invitation with evident pleasure, and coming forward began a simple address, which at once fascinated every little hearer, and hushed the room into silence. His language was strikingly beautiful, and his tones musical with intensest feeling. The little faces around would droop into sad conviction as he uttered sentences of warning, and would brighten into sunshine as he spoke cheerful words of promise. Once or twice he attempted to close his remarks, but the imperative shout of ‘Go on!’ ‘O, do go on!’ would compel him to resume. As I looked upon the gaunt and sinewy frame of the stranger, and marked his powerful head and determined features, now touched into softness by the impressions of the moment, I felt an irrepressible curiosity to learn something more about him, and when he was quietly leaving the room, I begged to know his name. He courteously replied, ‘It is Abra’m Lincoln, from Illinois!’ ”

CHAPTER XVI.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860—NOMINATION OF MR.
LINCOLN—BELL AND EVERETT.

THIS trip to New York and New England had greatly advanced Mr. Lincoln's standing in his party. His conduct, as well as his speeches, had been wise. His Western friends were not idle. Even as early as 1858 Wm. H. Herndon had made a trip to New England in his behalf; and later Judge David Davis and others went to Pennsylvania, Ohio, and one or two other States, to present what they considered the advantages of his nomination for the Presidency, to the party managers. Still matters had taken no very definite shape in Mr. Lincoln's favor, even in the West, at the time of the meeting of the National Republican Convention. Illinois did not, for some unaccountable cause, hold her convention for appointing delegates to the general convention until the 9th and 10th of May. This convention met at Decatur and the result of it was to declare that "Abraham Lincoln is the first choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the Presidency, and instructing the delegates to the Chicago Convention to use all honorable means to secure his nomination, and to cast the vote of the State as a unit for him." Several thousand people were in attendance at the

meeting of this convention, and some compensation for loss of time was made in the wild enthusiasm of the meeting.

Mr. Lincoln was present merely as a looker-on, and did not seem to know the purposes of the convention as to himself. Although this convention was late in assembling, it had a well-digested plan of arousing the enthusiasm of the party in the State, and of supplying some exceedingly and exceptionally popular material for the campaign. At the proper moment, when it was discovered that Mr. Lincoln was in the building, Governor Oglesby rose and announced the fact that a citizen had just entered the assembly whom that State delighted to honor, and said he would move for him to be invited to a seat on the platform; and waiting a moment, shouted Abraham Lincoln, at the top of his voice. That was enough for that crowd. Lincoln was seized and carried and pushed along on the shoulders of the excited multitude until he was landed on the stage, where he could only stammer his thanks, and apology for being in the way of the convention, amidst the deafening shouting of his name. Soon after this stirring scene, another well-matured act was performed. Governor Oglesby in the same mysterious manner arose and said that an old Democrat was waiting without the building for an opportunity to present something to the convention. Amidst shouts of "bring him in," old John Hanks entered the astonished crowd, carrying on his shoulder two rails, and bearing a banner with the inscription: "Two Rails, from a lot made

by Abraham Lincoln and John Hanks, in the Sangamon Bottom, in the year 1830." The whole convention soon saw through this clever scheme, and the wildest and most uproarious shouting that had ever been witnessed in Decatur followed the discovery.

I find it stated that the banner carried by John Hanks into this convention also bore the words, "Abraham Lincoln, the Rail Candidate for President in 1860." A statement I have not been able to verify. But the convention did its work well, providing the key-note to the exciting contest which soon followed.

On the 16th of May, 1860, the Republican Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President convened at Chicago. This was one of the most important assemblages that has marked the political history of this continent. It was composed of men of earnest, determined, manly purposes, and the great section of the country which they mainly represented expected them to do their work well and quickly. This expectation was fully met. The result of the action of this convention was of the greatest possible moment to the world. Had the choice of the leading candidate been different, it would, perhaps, be saying too much to assert or intimate that the pages of the Nation's history for the next five years would now tell a less definite story but it is quite certain they would have been stripped of their strange, unique, and interesting colorings. This convention was the beginning of the inauguration of a new and better era in the affairs of this

country. And its benefits have not been circumscribed by the boundaries of the Nation.

Before the assembling of the convention, a letter from General Frémont was published, declining to have his name appear as a candidate. Still this was hardly necessary, nor did it materially simplify matters before the convention, as from the outset it was quite clear the contest lay between Mr. Seward and Abraham Lincoln.

A building called the "Wigwam" was erected for this meeting, at a cost of seven thousand dollars, and although of huge dimensions, holding ten or twelve thousand people, it would not accommodate but a small part of the vast assemblage. At twelve o'clock the convention was called to order by the Chairman of the National Executive Committee, Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, who nominated David Wilmot for temporary chairman. Mr. Wilmot was led to the Chair, and made a brief, ringing anti-slavery speech. Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and the District of Columbia, and all the Free States were represented in the convention. Platform and other committees were appointed, a permanent organization effected, with George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, as president, and the convention, after a short evening session, adjourned until the next day (Thursday). Ashmun was a man of fine presence, pleasing voice, first-rate qualities as a presiding officer, and his choice was fortunate for the Convention.

Murat Halstead, in his "History of the Caucuses of 1860," gives this description of the way men ob-

tained admission to the great "Wigwam" on the afternoon of the first day:—

"This afternoon the rush for places was tremendous. Three doors about twenty feet wide each, were simultaneously thrown open, and three torrents of men roared in, rushing headlong for front positions. The standing room, holding four thousand five hundred persons, was packed in about five minutes. The galleries, where only gentlemen accompanied by ladies are admitted, and which contains nearly three thousand persons, was already full. There was a great deal of fun, and some curious performances, in filling the galleries. Ladies to accompany gentlemen were in demand; school-girls were found on the street and given a quarter each to see a gentleman safely in. Other girls, those of undoubted character, were much sought after as escorts. One of them being asked to take a gentleman to the gallery, and offered half a dollar for so doing, excused herself by saying she had already taken two men in at each of the three doors, and was afraid of arrest if she carried the enterprise any further. An Irish woman passing with a bundle of clothes under her arm was levied upon by an 'irrepressible,' and seeing him safely into the seats reserved for ladies and accompanying gentlemen, retired with her fee and bundle. Another 'irrepressible' sought out an Indian woman who was selling moccasins, and attempted to escort her in. This was a little too severe, however. He was informed that she was no lady, and the point was argued with considerable vehemence. It was finally determined that a squaw was not a lady. The young Republican protested indignantly against the policeman's decision, claiming equal rights for all womankind."

During the interval of the first night there was much speculation and some maneuvering as to the

probable outcome of the Convention. It was generally admitted that the contest was really between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward; but the "irrepressibles," as the supporters of Mr. Seward were called, conducted themselves as if there could be no doubt about the success of their candidate. The Richmond House was their head-quarters, and there were about one thousand of them. They marched backward and forward between the hotel and the "Wigwam" as a well-drilled regiment with a band of music at their head. And notwithstanding the positive talk about Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and some other States being lost if he should be nominated, it looked as if William Henry Seward would have an easy walk to the first place on the ticket.

At ten o'clock on Thursday morning the convention again assembled amidst great enthusiasm, but the day was spent in discussing the Platform, and a proposition to require a majority of a full delegation from all the States of the Union to decide the choice of candidates. This would have been about equal to adopting the two-thirds rule of the Democrats. Three hundred and four would have been a majority of all the votes had all the States been represented in the Convention. After a sharp and cutting debate it was decided by a vote of three hundred and thirty-one to one hundred and thirty that a majority of those actually present only and voting without regard to the unrepresented States should be required to nominate, and the delegation from each State was fixed at twice as many as the State had electoral votes.

Joshua R. Giddings offered a resolution before the convention to reaffirm in the Platform that part of the Declaration of Independence asserting that certain inalienable rights, as liberty and the pursuit of happiness, were endowments of all men by birth. This was at first objected to, and disappointed and offended, Mr. Giddings left the "Wigwam." George W. Curtis, of New York, favored the proposition of Mr. Giddings in a stirring speech which at once converted the convention, and the declaration went into the second "plank" of the Platform. Horace Greeley and Eli Thayer had made an effort previously to have the Committee of Resolutions put the same principle in the Platform, but nothing had come of it.

The final vote on the Platform was taken at six o'clock in the evening, when the "irrepressibles" desired to proceed at once to ballot for President. They opposed a motion to adjourn, but finally submitted under the impression that they had nothing to fear by resting a night. This was their first misstep, although at midnight many of the opponents of Mr. Seward had concluded that the opposition would avail nothing and that he would be nominated on Friday. And so they telegraphed to their papers. Among these was Horace Greeley.

But many of the delegates who believed the nomination of Mr. Seward would be disastrous to the local, if not the national success of the party, never slept that night. Among these, and, perhaps, the most influential, was Henry S. Lane, of Indiana. He did not favor Mr. Lincoln as against all others, but

considered him greatly preferable to Mr. Seward. Lane's first choice was Judge John McLean, and his second Edward Bates. But he saw that the nomination of Mr. Lincoln would produce general satisfaction, and save the doubtful States, and at day-break on Friday morning he felt that the work of the night had been ruinous to Mr. Seward's prospects. New England, in part, and some other States had exhibited a strong disposition to move in favor of Mr. Lincoln, and some States had made pledges to break at the right moment.

In this condition of affairs the convention assembled at ten o'clock, the Seward delegates as usual marching in solid column to the "Wigwam." but being tardy, all of them did not get in to swell the tide of shouts on which it was expected to carry Mr. Seward into the nomination. This was the next step in the list of misfortunes which followed them to defeat.

Long before the meeting of the convention on Friday morning, the 18th, the "Wigwam" was densely packed with ten or twelve thousands of anxious spectators. Twice as many were on the outside unable to gain admission. Arrangements were made to pass through the roof from the platform the results of the ballots for the vast crowd without the building. The first thing before the convention was the choice of candidates. Wm. H. Seward, Abraham Lincoln, Wm. L. Dayton, Salmon P. Chase, Edward Bates, and others, were then formally presented. This process again revealed the fact that the contest lay between Lincoln and Seward, and accordingly

would have been in favor of Mr. Seward. So it was generally believed.

After a recess for dinner, the convention again met at five o'clock, to finish its work. Cassius M. Clay and Hannibal Hamlin were the leading candidates for the Vice-Presidency.

The first ballot gave :—

Hamlin,	194
Clay,	101½
Hickman,	58
Reeder,	51
N. P. Banks,	38½
H. W. Davis,	8
Dayton,	8
Sam Houston,	6
John P. Reed,	1

The second ballot resulted :—

Hamlin,	367
Clay,	86
Hickman,	13

That night Chicago went wild. Cannons were fired, tar-barrels were burned, illuminated rails, and rails of every kind were carried in processions through the streets; and out on the railroad and telegraph lines the name of "Honest Old Abe" went with lightning speed, and the enthusiasm of Chicago soon became universal. Some facts touching this convention and a full account of the wonderful conventions dissolving the Democratic party, and of their nominations, are to be found in the next preceding volume of this work.

The following is the Platform :—

“ *Resolved*, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in the discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations :—

“ *First*. That the history of the Nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and Constitutional triumph.

“ *Second*. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions ; that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved ; and that we reassert ‘ these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.’

“ *Third*. That to the Union of the States this Nation owes its unprecedented increase in population ; its surprising development of material resources ; its rapid augmentation of wealth ; its happiness at home, and its honor abroad ; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may ; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress, without rebuke, and with applause from their political associates ; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a

popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and forever silence.

"Fourth. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

"Fifth. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as is especially evident in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and the Federal Courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

"Sixth. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

"Seventh. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument

itself, with contemporaneous expositions, and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

"Eighth. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without the process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

"Ninth. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

"Tenth. That in the recent vetoes by their Federal Governors of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, and a denunciation of the deception and fraud involved therein.

"Eleventh. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State, under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

"Twelfth. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imposts, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest

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"Eleventh. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State, under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

"Twelfth. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imposts, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest

of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working-man liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence.

"Thirteenth. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

"Fourteenth. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

"Fifteenth. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

"Sixteenth. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

"Seventeenth. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support."

On the 9th of May, 1860, the "Constitutional Union" party, so-called, met in convention at Baltimore, with delegates from twenty States. John J. Crittenden was present and called the convention to order. Washington Hunt, of New York, was chosen permanent chairman. After the usual unimportant preliminary business, the convention proceeded, under the majority rule, to select candidates for President and Vice-President.

John Bell, of Tennessee, was elected on the second ballot for the Presidency. The vote stood as follows :—

	FIRST BALLOT.	SECOND BALLOT.
John Bell,	68½	138
Sam Houston,	57	69
John M. Botts,	9½	7
John McLean,	21	1
John J. Crittenden,	28	1
Edward Everett,	25	9½
William A. Graham,	22	18
William C. Rives,	13	...
William L. Sharkey,	7	8½
William Goggin,	3	...

One hundred and twenty-seven being necessary to a choice on the second ballot, Mr. Bell was now declared the nominee. Edward Everett was then unanimously chosen for the Vice-Presidency. No Platform was presented, but instead of it the following preamble and resolution, drawn up by Joseph R. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, were adopted :

"WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that Platforms adopted by the partisan conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and

at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

“*Resolved*, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principle other than the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States and the enforcement of the laws, and that, as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country in National Convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety, against all enemies at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, the rights of the people and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity, and equality, which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.”

After some harmonious, consolatory, and congratulatory speech-making, justified neither by the circumstances at that moment nor by subsequent events, this short-lived party adjourned.

CHAPTER XVII.

RECEPTION OF THE NOMINATION—THE MAN AS HE
WAITED—A PICTURE—POPULARITY—THE
WONDERFUL CAMPAIGN.

AS dark and uncertain as were the prospects of the Union, but one other person in all the world more earnestly than Mr. Lincoln desired the Chicago Convention to reach the conclusion it did, and that person was Mrs. Lincoln. Lincoln believed it to be the most important point yet reached in his life, and closely did he watch, from his home at Springfield, every sign from the convention. The result of the last ballot was announced to him while he sat among his friends in the office of "The State Journal." He read the dispatch, and then quietly said that there was a little woman down at his house who would like to hear about it, and he would go and tell her. Mr. Lincoln had been trying for three days to appear and act as he usually did, but in this he was not very successful. Much of the time he had played ball in a ball-alley to drown his real anxiety, and had otherwise conducted himself as if he entertained nothing more than the ordinary interest in what was going on at Chicago. That night Springfield made bonfires, and speeches, and shouted itself tired, and Mr. Lincoln did all that was required of

him on the occasion. But the great anxiety which he had felt while the convention was in session was now followed by a strong reaction the other way; and, perhaps, he was the only friend to himself in the whole country who was sad that night. It was natural with Mr. Lincoln to pass rapidly into and foster these conflicting states of joy and sadness, of sunshine and shadow, and from the first announcement of his nomination he believed in the successful ending of the race in his favor, and from this moment a new, gloomy, and undefined burden bore him down.

On Saturday, the day after the convention finished its work, the committee appointed to formally notify Mr. Lincoln of his nomination, accompanied by many others desirous to see and congratulate the nominee, proceeded to Springfield. The following description of this affair is from the pen of one of the many enterprising newspaper reporters of the day:—

“The excursion train bearing the committee appointed by the National Convention at Chicago to wait on Mr. Lincoln and notify him of his nomination, consisting of the president of the convention, the Hon. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, and the chairmen of the different State delegations, arrived at Springfield, Friday evening, at seven o'clock.

“A great crowd was awaiting them at the depot, and greeted their coming with enthusiastic shouts. From the depot they marched to the hotel, accompanied by the crowd, and two or three bands discoursing stirring music. The appearance and names of the more distinguished delegates were received with vociferous applause, especially the venerable and famous Francis P. Blair, of Maryland; the Hon. E. D. Morgan, Governor of New York; and Governor Boutwell, of Massachusetts.

“When they arrived at the hotel the crowd, still increasing, deployed off to the State-House square, to give vent to their

enthusiasm in almost continual cheers, and listen to fervent speeches.

“Having partaken of a bountiful supper, the delegates proceeded quietly, by such streets as would escape the crowd, to the residence of Mr. Lincoln. Quite a number of outsiders were along, among whom were half a dozen editors, including the Hon. Henry J. Raymond, of ‘The New York Times.’

“Among the delegates composing the committee were many of the most distinguished men in that great convention, such as Mr. Evarts, of New York, the accomplished and eloquent spokesman of the delegation from the Empire State, and friend of Mr. Seward; Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, whose tall form and sonorous eloquence excited so much attention; Mr. Andrew, of Massachusetts, the round-faced, handsome man, who made such a beautiful and telling speech on behalf of the old Bay State, in seconding the motion to make Lincoln’s nomination unanimous; Mr. Simmons, the gray-headed United States Senator from Rhode Island; Mr. Ashmun, the president of the convention, so long the bosom friend and ardent admirer of Daniel Webster, and the leader of the Massachusetts Whigs; the veteran Blair, and his gallant sons, Frank P. and Montgomery; brave old Blakie, of Kentucky; Gallagher, the literary man of Ohio; burly, loud-voiced Cartter, of Ohio, who announced the four votes that gave Lincoln the nomination, and others that I have not time to mention.

“In a few minutes (it now being about 8 P. M.) they were at Lincoln’s house, an elegant two-story dwelling, fronting west, of pleasing exterior, with a neat and roomy appearance, situated in the quiet part of the town, surrounded with shrubbery. As they were passing in at the gate and up the steps, two handsome lads of eight or ten years met them with a courteous ‘Good evening, gentlemen.’

“‘Are you Mr. Lincoln’s son?’ said Mr. Evarts, of New York. ‘Yes, sir,’ said the boy. ‘Then let’s shake hands;’ and they began greeting him so warmly as to excite the younger one’s attention, who had stood silently by the opposite gate-post, and he sang out, ‘I’m a Lincoln, too;’ whereupon several delegates, amid much laughter, saluted the young Lincoln.

“Having all collected in the large north parlor, Mr. Ashmun

addressed Mr. Lincoln, who stood at the east end of the room, as follows:

“‘I have, sir, the honor, in behalf of the gentlemen who are present, a committee appointed by the Republican Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, to discharge a most pleasant duty. We have come, sir, under a vote of instructions to that committee, to notify you that you have been selected by the convention of the Republicans at Chicago, for President of the United States. They instruct us, sir, to notify you of that selection, and that committee deem it not only respectful to yourself, but appropriate to the important matter which they have in hand, that they should come in person, and present to you the authentic evidence of the action of that convention; and, sir, without any phrase which shall either be considered personally plauditory to yourself, or which shall have any reference to the principles involved in the questions which are connected with your nomination, I desire to present to you the letter which has been prepared, and which informs you of the nomination, and with it the Platform, resolutions, and sentiments, which the convention adopted. Sir, at your convenience, we shall be glad to receive from you such a response as it may be your pleasure to give us.’

“Mr. Lincoln listened with a countenance grave and earnest, almost to sternness, regarding Mr. Ashmun with the profoundest attention, and at the conclusion of that gentleman's remarks, after an impressive pause, he replied in a clear but subdued voice, with that perfect enunciation which always marks his utterance, and a dignified sincerity of manner suited to the man and the occasion, in the following words:

“‘MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE,—I tender to you, and through you to the Republican National Convention, and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honor done me, which you now formally announce. Deeply, and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this high honor—a responsibility which I could almost wish had fallen upon some one of the far more eminent men and experienced statesmen whose distinguished names were before the convention—I shall, by your leave, consider more fully the resolutions of the con-

vention, denominated the Platform, and without unnecessary or unreasonable delay, respond to you, Mr. Chairman, in writing, not doubting that the Platform will be found satisfactory, and the nomination gratefully accepted.

“‘And now I will not longer defer the pleasure of taking you, and each of you, by the hand.’

“Mr. Ashmun then introduced the delegates personally to Mr. Lincoln, who shook them heartily by the hand. Governor Morgan, Mr. Blair, Senator Simmons, Mr. Welles, and Mr. Fogg, of Connecticut, were first introduced; then came hearty old Mr. Blakie, of Kentucky, Lincoln’s native State, and, of course, they had to compare notes, inquire up old neighbors, and, if the time had allowed, they would soon have started to tracing out the old pioneer families. Major Ben Eggleston, of Cincinnati, was next, and his greeting and reception were equally hearty. Tall Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, was then presented by Mr. Ashmun to Mr. Lincoln. As they shook hands, each eyed the other’s ample proportions, with genuine admiration—Lincoln, for once, standing erect as an Indian during this evening, and showing his tall form in its full dignity.

“‘What’s your height?’ inquired Lincoln.

“‘Six feet three; what is yours, Mr. Lincoln!’ said Judge Kelley, in his round, deliberate tone.

“‘Six feet four,’ replied Lincoln.

“‘Then,’ said Judge Kelley, ‘Pennsylvania bows to Illinois. My dear man, for years my heart has been aching for a President that I could *look up to*, and I’ve found him at last in the land where we thought there were none but *little giants*.’

“Mr. Evarts, of New York, expressed very gracefully his gratification at meeting Mr. Lincoln, whom he had heard at Cooper Institute, but where, on account of the pressure and crowd, he had to go away without an introduction.

“Mr. Andrews, of Massachusetts, said, ‘We claim you, Mr. Lincoln, as coming from Massachusetts, because all the old Lincoln name are from Plymouth Colony.’

“‘We’ll consider it so this evening,’ said Lincoln.

“Various others were presented, when Mr. Ashmun asked them to come up and introduce themselves. ‘Come up, gentlemen,’ said Mr. Judd; ‘it’s nobody but Old Abe Lincoln.’

The greatest good feeling prevailed. As the delegates fell back, each congratulated the other that they had got just the sort of man. A neatly-dressed New Englander remarked to us: 'I was afraid I should meet a gigantic rail-splitter, with the manners of a flat-boatman, and the ugliest face in creation; and he's a complete gentleman.'

"Mrs. Lincoln received the delegates in the south parlor, where they were severally conducted after their official duty was performed. It will, no doubt, be a gratification to those who have not seen this amiable and accomplished lady to know that she adorns a drawing-room, presides over a table, does the honors on an occasion like the present, or will do the honors at the White House, with appropriate grace. She is a daughter of Mr. Todd, formerly of Kentucky, and long one of the prominent citizens of Springfield. She is one of three sisters noted for their beauty and accomplishments. One of them is now the wife of Ninian W. Edwards, Esq., son of old Governor Edwards. Mrs. Lincoln is now apparently about thirty-five years of age, is a very handsome woman, with a vivacious and graceful manner; is an interesting and often sparkling talker. Standing by her almost gigantic husband, she appears petite, but is really about the average height of ladies. They have three sons, two of them already mentioned, and an older one, a young man of sixteen or eighteen years, now at Harvard College, Massachusetts.

"Mr. Lincoln bore himself during the evening with dignity and ease. His kindly and sincere manner, frank and honest expression, unaffected, pleasant conversation, soon made every one feel at ease, and rendered the hour and a half which they spent with him one of great pleasure to the delegates. He was dressed with perfect neatness, almost elegance, though, as all Illinoisans know, he usually is as plain in his attire as he is modest and unassuming in deportment. He stood erect, displaying to excellent advantage his tall and manly figure."

Shortly after these events, not deeming it necessary or incumbent upon him to enter at length upon a discussion of the principles set forth in the Repub-

lican Platform, Mr. Lincoln issued the following formal acceptance of the nomination:—

“SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, May 23, 1860.

“HON. GEORGE ASHMUN, President of the Republican National Convention:—

“SIR,—I accept the nomination tendered me by the convention over which you presided, and of which I am formally apprised in the letter of yourself and others, acting as a committee of the convention for that purpose.

“The declaration of principles and sentiments, which accompanies your letter, meets my approval; and it shall be my care not to violate or disregard it, in any part.

“Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the convention; to the rights of all the States and Territories, and people of the Nation; to the inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual union, harmony, and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention.

“Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

“ABRAHAM LINCOLN.”

The friends of Mr. Seward were greatly disappointed in his defeat. He was eminent as a politician, few, if any Americans, standing above him in the least objectionable features of the term. He was a polished and brilliant man, and occupied the first place in the list of distinguished Republicans. The times seemed to demand the presence of the most calm, fearless, and able man at the head of affairs. Mr. Lincoln was comparatively unknown, and mainly untried, and, to some extent, a feeling of disappointment was apparent over the country, even among

those who did not favor the nomination of Mr. Seward. This feeling soon passed away, however, giving place to unusual enthusiasm among the Republicans. It was soon discovered that the convention had not made a mistake. The right man had undoubtedly been chosen. Yet there was nothing in him which seemed to be less objectionable to the secessionists of the South than there was in Mr. Seward; indeed, his very selection by the convention furnished them a just ground of secession. So many of them said.

Of the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, "The New York Tribune" said :—

"While Mr. Lincoln's position as a Republican renders him satisfactory to the most zealous member of the party, the moderation of his character, and the conservative tendencies of his mind, long improved and well-known of all men in public life, commend him to every section of the opposition. There is no good reason why Americans and Whigs, and, in short, all who are inspired rather by patriotism than by party feeling, should not rally to his support. Republicans and conservatives, those who dread the extension of slavery, and those who dread the progress of administrative and legislative corruption, may be assured that in him both these evils will find a stern and immovable antagonist and an impassable barrier. At the same time, as a man of the people, raised by his own genius and integrity from the humblest to the highest position, having made for himself an honored name as a lawyer, an advocate, a popular orator, a statesman, and a man, the industrious and intelligent masses of the country may well hail his nomination with a swelling tide of enthusiasm, of which the wild and prolonged outbursts at Chicago yesterday are the fitting prelude and beginning."

The Republican newspapers generally throughout the country soon discovered all of Mr. Lincoln's good running and other valuable qualities, and with great energy began the work of the campaign, although many of them were sorely disappointed and hurt over the defeat of Mr. Seward, their favorite. New York City outdid herself in a noisy approval of the nomination; and the ratification meetings from the Atlantic to the Pacific revealed the previously unthought-of fact that there were peculiar and wonderful elements of popularity about "Honest Abe Lincoln," the "Rail Candidate," the "Sangamon Chief," the "Flat-boatman of the West."

In his "Recollections of a Busy Life," Horace Greeley gives this statement as to his preference:—

"My choice was Edward Bates, of St. Louis. He had been sole Representative of Missouri in Congress fully thirty years before, when he had heartily supported the Administration of John Quincy Adams. He had since been mainly in retirement, save that he had presided, with eminent ability, over the River and Harbor Convention, held at Chicago in 1847, and had held a local judgeship. Born in Virginia, a life-long slaveholder, in politics a Whig, he was thoroughly conservative, and so held fast to the doctrine of our Revolutionary sages that slavery was an evil to be restricted, not a good to be diffused. This conviction made him essentially a Republican, while I believed that he could poll votes in every Slave State, and, if elected, rally all that was left of the Whig party therein to resist secession and rebellion. If not the only Republican whose election would not suffice as a pretext for civil war, he seemed to me that one most likely to repress the threatened insurrection, or, at the worst, to crush it. I

did not hesitate to avow my preference, though I may have withheld some of my reasons for it."

Mr. Greeley and Thurlow Weed had the reputation of being the most skillful wire-pullers in this historic convention, although they both signally failed in their purpose. Mr. Weed was the head and manager of the Seward forces; and Mr. Greeley opposed Mr. Seward's nomination, mainly from motives of expediency, and worked for Mr. Bates long after all chances for his success were gone. There had not, however, from the outset, in fact, been the shadow of a chance for his nomination.

Since the "Hard-Cider" campaign of 1840 there had been nothing in political contests to excite the popular enthusiasm at all to compare with this. The mere fact of the presence of four well-organized parties in the field was enough to give unusual grounds for a warm contest. The candidates were all respectable, perhaps more.

Few men ever had warmer friends than Stephen A. Douglas, or more that were ready to work and fight to the bitter end. His skill as an organizer and his direct personal influence were wonderful.

In John Cabell Breckinridge the South had her beau ideal of a chivalrous leader. The "Constitutional Unionists" were strong in their whole ticket.

John Bell had been a Whig, and was supposed to be of the more fair and able among the representative politicians; and Edward Everett's standing was unequaled, in many respects. Mr. Hamlin will be mentioned in a future chapter. Hershel V. Johnson,

on the ticket with Mr. Douglas, was a man of respectable ability, not much known to the country; and Joseph Lane was a rough, unsuitable man, even for the Vice-Presidency, with little in him to excite feelings of respect or admiration, selected mainly for his attachment to the cause of slavery.

The Republicans had, perhaps, the advantage of organization. Long before the meeting of the convention at Chicago the "Wide-Awakes" began to form themselves into companies for the fun and hard work of the coming campaign. This was a new distinction in the history of electioneering organizations; and in the South especially the enmity to the "Wide-Awakes" was not unmixed with feelings of awe. The very dress worn by these men, in the glare and shadow of their torches in the long night marches, gave them an indefinable air of mystery and earnestness, which was supposed to be in harmony with the dark designs of the "Black Republicans."

The "Hickory-shirted" Democrats, supporters of Mr. Douglas, were more noisy and demonstrative than the "Wide-Awakes," and not much less numerous. The Bell-Everett people were amazingly noisy, too, for their strength; and everywhere, North and South, there was a never-ceasing din. All the political orators, "good, bad, and indifferent," were on the stump; the newspapers, great and small, worked day and night, lying and telling all the truth they could; and so the contest went on till the day of the election, in November.

In the meantime Mr. Lincoln remained at his

home in Springfield, where it may be well to look at him for a moment. It was not the desire of the party leaders that Mr. Lincoln should speak, write letters, or answer questions during this campaign, and having no such desire on his own part, he wisely kept as quiet as circumstances would permit. From the first he and his party had little or no doubt as to his election; and this fact greatly influenced matters at Springfield.

According to the common course of events politicians and place-hunters had, to a great extent, by surprising stretches of modesty, held aloof until the day after the election. But the certainty of Mr. Lincoln's election removed the ordinary impediments, and the result was a stream of all sorts of anxious and variously interested people set in at once toward Springfield. These good folks came from every part of the country, far and near, and although many of them had kind and friendly motives, all of them helped to load poor Lincoln with a constantly increasing sense of responsibility. The work of receiving every one who came soon began to be a burden which he could ill afford, but which he felt to be his duty. At first he attempted to receive them all unaided at his own house, but it finally became necessary for him to go to the Executive Chamber in the State House, and have a "servant" to attend the door and do such other things which he had done himself when at home. The old friends who came to see how Abe looked now were not disappointed or hurt in any way, the most simple of

them even, and all of them went away satisfied that extraordinary fortune did not turn the head of plain, sensible Abe Lincoln. The strangers, too, who came, men of every grade of pretension, left more than pleased with the man; and only professional place-hunters wondered at his dexterity in avoiding the very thing that was nearest their hearts.

As an instance of how Mr. Lincoln endeavored laboriously to be himself and treat everybody as he always had done, it is told that two young men, one of them an uncommonly tall fellow, were one day waiting at the entrance of his room to see if their turn would ever come, or if the suddenly-made great man would ever notice them. But Mr. Lincoln finally discovered them, and seeing their doubt as to the event of their mission, called in his easy good-natured way to know what he could do for them. The short one then said that they had a wager, and he had staked his judgment on the equal height of the prospective President and his tall companion. This was an opportunity that Mr. Lincoln would not have lost even in the White House, amidst wars and rumors of wars, and taking a cane he asked the tall specimen to walk under it, hat off. When he had got the exact spot on the wall he told the young man to step out and take the cane; and then going under himself and standing erect he just filled the place of the young giant, who went away with the gratification of knowing that there was no difference between himself and Abraham Lincoln.

Thus the time passed away, not unmixed with

anxiety and sadness to this strange man. Popular he certainly was; still he wanted some traits of a man coming clearly under this head. It has always been regarded as beneath the dignity of a Presidential nominee to appear in public or make speeches in his own behalf; and hence, it is not expected that he shall engage in many vulgar and disgusting things regarded as essentials among small politicians and party "hacks." It may, indeed, be recited to the honor of this country that a Presidential candidate shall occupy a high, an unquestioned, moral standard, be a man really above habits and practices considered tolerable, and, by the mass, essential in smaller aspirants to the distinction, unenviable though it may be, of "popular." It is a singular fact that the low morals which will require a petty office-seeker to drink whisky and do other disgusting things, and make himself and his friends poor in pandering to the most unmanly, destestable, and abject passions of men, are not, by the same men, regarded as of sufficiently elevated standard for the Presidential candidate. This one man is expected to be above it, a rare instance of the good conduct of vulgarity and indecency. In this very low sense, the Presidential candidate has never, in any stage of society, been expected to be *popular*. But as a kind of social prince, great things have always been demanded of him, and being this is a necessary element of the kind of popularity deemed essential to him.

But Mr. Lincoln was, to a great extent, destitute of this quality. He could not in a low way go out

or in and drink with a man; he could not stoop to the work of purchasing the man in any way, nor could he engage successfully in the so-called exclusive and higher ways of feasting and debauchery. He could only entertain men from a mental point of view, or from his stories and earnest good sense. He was not a society man.

Dr. Holland makes the following remark of him :—

“None of his old heartiness and simplicity left him. Men who entered his house impressed with a sense of his new dignities, found him the same honest, affectionate, true-hearted, and simple-minded Abraham Lincoln that he had always been. He answered his own bell, accompanied his visitors to the door when they retired, and felt all that interfered with his old homely and hearty habits of hospitality as a burden—almost an impertinence.”

There is here one very misleading error. Mr. Lincoln was not what is termed a hospitable man. He really took little note of the little amenities and kindnesses of life. Notwithstanding his castle-building for himself, he was merely matter-of-fact in his dealings with others. No two of his friends understood him alike. His house was never a place of resort for his associates. It was not a hospitable home in the biographical way of speaking. There was not wealth enough in it to suit Mrs. Lincoln's ideas of social style and social effect. Mrs. Lincoln was not a favorite among the women of Springfield, and notwithstanding her ambition and determination to see her husband President, she cared little for the diplomacy of social matters among men.

But the quiet condition of affairs at Mr. Lincoln's was by no means all owing to her whims or temper. Mr. Lincoln preferred to meet his political and business friends (about all he had or cared for) at his office, on the street, in the grocery. He did not need to take them to his house, did not wish to do so. Had it been a quiet and happy retreat from the turmoil, struggles, and ills of life, it was not a place to be broken up or disturbed by turning the world in upon it at the only moments when it could be of service in preparing him for the conflict. If it had been a home in name merely, the seat of ungodly domestic strife, it would have been equally unfit as a place of rendezvous for business, for grave and real friendship, or for senseless and worthless social frivolity and gossip. But, in any case, Mr. Lincoln preferred his home for his family and himself. Under any circumstances he was not a man of gush. When friends and others visited him at his house he treated them kindly, as usual with him, not gushingly. But he seldom invited them, and was contented when they thought it sufficient to meet him elsewhere.

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that Mr. Lincoln was peculiar among men in this matter. He was simply like the great mass of intelligent men, men who consider themselves morally and religiously responsible for their own conduct, toward themselves and others, at every turn and step in life, however little or great it may be. The great mass of such men have only a side-walk and division-

fence acquaintance and friendship with the world. They have not time for more. All the good they can do, they can do in that. Their sense of moral right prevents their going much beyond this. Real, desirable friends who may go to the bosom and the confidence and sincerity of the home fireside, are like the great mile-stones in the path of life; they are come to very seldom, and sometimes they are never reached. They are diamonds that may never be found in the yard of the neighbor; and a man may consider himself fortunate and rich if he finds one or two or three at most, and may feel the burden of his jewels if he should have a half-dozen.

L. D. Ingersoll, in his excellent and exceedingly readable "Life of Horace Greeley," says wisely on this very point:—

"Excessive devotion to hospitality is the renowned virtue of Arabs and of American Indians. It is impossible for men of greatly active lives to squander much time in mere amenities and agreeabilities. To them life is real, life is earnest. Hospitality abounds most among those who have others to labor for them."

No man can be popular, in the common acceptance of the term, who is unwilling to sacrifice himself morally, socially, and religiously, sacrifice his well-digested, true, and manly principles, sacrifice his rightly formed, clean, and manly habits, to pander to the unregulated and disgusting or low passions of those whose chief business in life seems to be to eat and drink and cry Hurra!

No; Mr. Lincoln was not a hospitable man in this

sense, and in that particular could not be a popular one. He was not very considerate of the common wants or rights due those about him. And his affections were still less readily involved in objects not within reach of his senses. Still he was not unique in this. But he was not an affectionate man at all, as Dr. Holland thinks he was. O! no. Not in the usual sense of this word. He had not this quality greatly developed, and was forgetful of what he had. Long before he became President, he vaguely believed that he was born for a mission, and this was his theme. It did not, indeed, crowd everything else out of him; he often forgot, forgot it long enough to tell stories, to work, to be faithful to what he deemed to be right, to be plain, and simple, and good, wherever he was. But even on the streets, at times, he passed his friends without noticing them; and more often when he did notice them it was in the most far-off or mechanical kind of way. And often when he played with his children or foolishly drew them in a little cart on the street, he forgot them, forgot everything but the mission, the dream, but himself.

The elements of popularity which Mr. Lincoln really possessed, and which attached all men to him it is not necessary to enumerate here. Here and there, from the pages of this work, they may be gathered.

Is Christianity an element of popularity? This matter gave Mr. Lincoln some uneasiness during the progress of the campaign. In some of his races for the Legislature and for Congress, as has been seen,

he had been annoyed by this question. At home the same old difficulty came up now. He felt that he was on the right side, and therefore the ministers of the gospel and religious people generally should be for him. He could not see that it made any difference that he was not in perfect accord with them in religious concerns. He was on the right side of great and vital political questions, and he thought all good (religious) Christians, and all good (religious) Jews, and all good (moral) men should be with him. But they were not. Still, away from home, and in the newspapers, and on the "stump," his religion, or irreligion, was mainly unnoticed, or was of little importance. It was dangerous ground, indeed, to harrow up on any side when the character of the candidates was considered all around. "Honest Abe Lincoln" was not likely to suffer in a comparison. It was the old case of people who live in glass houses being unable to throw stones.

No Presidential election was ever fraught with so much interest to the people of this country, in none have the issues been more irreconcilable, and never had there been such determination to bring the power of slavery to a final test. The Democrats, in their division, had rendered their own defeat quite certain from the outset, and the so-called Constitutional-Union or Bell-Everett faction only increased the chances of Republican success, the thing held out as the great calamity against which all other parties claimed to be contending.

Besides the four important contestants for the

Presidency, the radical Abolitionists, not being satisfied with the position of the Republican party, nominated Gerrit Smith for the Presidency and Samuel McFarland for the Vice-Presidency. While these impracticable people could do little more than remain away from the polls, they did not lose their opportunity to abuse all parties and principles.

The canvass early opened with great spirit. Leaving out of consideration the equivocal condition of the "Union," or Bell-and-Everett party, there was no want of well defined points of issue between the other parties. The last resolution attached to the Platform after the conflict in the Republican Convention was ended mainly destroyed the great distinguishing feature of the Douglas wing of the Democracy, virtually binding it to respect the Dred Scott decision of the majority of the Supreme Court. Yet the supporters and advocates of Mr. Douglas held with determination to his squatter-sovereignty dogma, which the Court had killed, in its judgment, and which the South had found was repugnant to its interests. The issue which absorbed all others, or really the only issue of the campaign was that of slavery.

The Breckinridge or State-Rights party held that the citizens of Slave States had the right to take their slaves to the Territories, and that Congress was bound to recognize them with their slaves as slaves, and protect them as such, either with or without the consent or aid of the Territorial Legislatures. When slavery was in question the supreme power of the Government should be exerted for its extension and

safety. State Rights and all other considerations were ignored in the presence of this stupendous subject.

The Douglas faction on the other hand taught that the white citizens of the Territory should decide the question of slavery within their boundary without the interference of Congress, States, or people outside.

The Bell-and-Everett party raised for its standard, "The Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws," ignoring the disturbing issues of the other parties, and gathering its supporters chiefly from the unestablished old Whigs. The canvass of this party was meaningless and vague on the slavery issue, while it was unable to show that any other subject could possibly stand above this. In its candidates it was not unfortunate. Both Bell and Everett were men of high standing, and the "Conservatives" of the country put unwavering confidence in them as safe men for such an emergency. So far as his Northern supporters were concerned, Mr. Bell's subsequent career was a source of disappointment and chagrin.

The Republicans held that there was no power in a Territory to enforce a slave law, and that Congress could not only not legalize slavery, but was bound to exclude it from the Territories where this course seemed to be demanded.

Mr. Douglas entered the field as his own advocate; and added greatly to the spirit of the canvass, whatever may be said of the proprieties of such con-

duct in a Presidential candidate. He traveled over most of the States of the Union, attracting large crowds to hear and see him, and for some time he appeared sanguine of success. His courage and audacity were wonderful and his conduct throughout was bold, unequivocal, and manly. In one of his speeches in the South he said:—

“It is the duty of the President and of others in authority under him, to enforce the laws of the United States as Congress passes and the courts expound them; and I, as in duty bound by my oath of fidelity to the Constitution, will exert all my power to aid the Government of the United States in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistance from any quarter whatsoever.”

He repeatedly declared in the South that there could not be a grievance to justify disunion, that he would ever be found on the side of the constituted authorities of the country, and aid in making them strong enough to hang a traitor. And when the contest was over Mr. Douglas said there could be but two parties, one of patriots and one of traitors. From this position he never departed. It was a brave and brilliant campaign, but the last he ever made.

In New York, Pennsylvania, and several other States, the Democratic factions both “fused” with the “Constitutional-Union” men, based upon the fear and avarice of the so-called business communities. The Southern cry of secession alarmed this class of timid men, and every effort was made to remove the impending calamity four years farther into the future by the defeat of Mr. Lincoln, by the

defeat of the Republican party, the success of which the South loudly declared would be the signal for the dissolution of the Union. The contest was waged with great ability and stubbornness, and the whole country was kept in the most intense state of excitement and alarm. But the Republican party triumphed, and on the 6th of November the power of slavery went down forever in the Republic. Having failed the first time at the polls, it now rushed forward to test its weakness on the battle-field. The election of a President, in the regular manner appointed by the organic law, whose character and principles were incongenial to slavery became the pretext for the War of the Rebellion.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ELECTION OF 1860—SLAVERY DEFEATED AT THE
POLLS—MR. LINCOLN AT HOME—A. H.
STEPHENS—CABINET-MAKING.

THE election resulted as smart people generally believed it would. All the Free States but New Jersey cast their electoral votes for Lincoln, and New Jersey gave four of her seven votes to him. The States going for Lincoln and Hamlin were:—

California,	4
Connecticut,	6
Illinois,	11
Indiana,	13
Iowa,	4
Maine,	8
Massachusetts,	13
Michigan,	6
Minnesota,	4
New Hampshire,	5
New Jersey,	4
New York,	35
Ohio,	23
Oregon,	3
Pennsylvania,	27
Rhode Island,	4
Vermont,	5
Wisconsin,	5
Total,	<hr/> 180

In New Jersey there was a fusion electoral ticket put in the field, consisting of three Douglas, two Breckinridge, and two Bell men. The supporters of Mr. Douglas also ran a straight ticket with the three electors selected on the fusion arrangement, and the result was their election, and four of the Republican electors were chosen.

For Douglas and Johnson: Missouri, 9; New Jersey, 3, in all, 12 electors.

For Bell and Everett: Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 12; and Virginia, 13; 39 in all.

Breckinridge and Lane received the vote of—

Alabama,	9
Arkansas,	4
Delaware,	3
Florida,	3
Georgia,	10
Louisiana,	6
Maryland,	8
Mississippi,	7
North Carolina,	10
South Carolina,	8
Texas,	4
Total,	<hr/> 72

Had the entire opposition fused in Oregon, that State would have gone against Mr. Lincoln, as would also California. But this would have been the case in no other Free States. And had there been a fusion in all the States, or had all the opposition electoral votes been given to one of the candidates, Mr. Lincoln still would have been elected by a good

majority. There were fusion combinations in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Texas.

The popular vote stood: Lincoln, 1,866,352; Douglas, 1,375,157; Breckinridge, 847,514; Bell, 587,830; giving a total vote of 4,676,853, and a total opposition vote of 2,810,501, with a plurality of 944,149 over Mr. Lincoln. Still, over Mr. Douglas, for whom the highest opposition vote was cast, Lincoln had a plurality of 491,195. And his majorities amounted to 326,391, while Douglas's were 4,477, and Breckinridge's, 58,737. It may be of little importance here to mention, too, that Kentucky cast 1,364 votes for Mr. Lincoln; Maryland, 2,294; Missouri, 17,028; Virginia, 1,929; and Delaware, 3,815. South Carolina, of course, is left out of all these calculations, because popular elections had never yet been held in that State.

In the five border Slave States, where votes were cast for Mr. Lincoln, and where the vote was by open ballot, which was cried at the top of the voice of the judge or clerk, it was often as much as a man's life was worth to give his vote for Abraham Lincoln. In the interior towns, where a few brave men undertook this bold experiment, they were subsequently greatly annoyed, and some of them had to fight for their lives and property, while others left for more congenial climes, as they were at once requested to do by those who held that there could be no question between slavery and freedom, and that they had the right to direct the acts and consciences

of others on this subject. Only in the larger cities, of very mixed population, on the border, as St. Louis, Louisville, Covington, Newport, etc., was there any degree of freedom at this election.

Two other items are worthy of note here, perhaps. The plurality of Breckinridge over Bell was only 259,684, and in many of the strong Slave States, which went for the former, the majorities were small; and in Georgia, Louisiana, and Maryland, if the votes given to Douglas and Bell had been cast for either one of them, Breckinridge would not have carried those States.

At that period the votes cast for Breckinridge only could be taken as indicating the secession sentiment of the South. Even Mr. Douglas's support, with all his popular sovereignty, and more than doubtful pro-slavery sentiments, was very respectable in that section. All the Southern States cast a vote for him, altogether giving him nearly 164,000 votes.

Mr. Bell's vote in the Slave States amounted to about 516,000, and this given to Douglas, or Mr. Douglas's 164,000 given to him, would have made the Union or anti-secession vote about 680,000.

Breckinridge's vote in the Slave States was about 570,500. And this would leave an actual Union majority in the South of about 109,500 votes.

And, besides these, the 26,430 votes cast for Mr. Lincoln in the five Slave States which voted at all for him, counting little Delaware as one, must be placed against secession. So that, on the day of this election, the majority on the popular vote in the

South was really against disunion. Of course, this calculation only considers the legal voters, the white men. If the women had been taken into account, the result would have been quite different, and would have presented an appalling picture to the country and the world.

There is, however, another side to this examination. John C. Breckinridge's vote in the Free States, and all of them voting for him, was actually about 277,000. These votes were from men, for a general statement it may be assumed, who favored the policy advocated by the radical pro-slavery and disunion men of the South, and represented in Mr. Breckinridge. So that the whole vote cast for Mr. Breckinridge, North and South, indicated the secession strength and sentiment of the country on the day of the election. Now, Mr. Bell received in the South about 516,000, Mr. Douglas about 164,000, and Abraham Lincoln about 26,500 votes; in all, about 706,500. Mr. Breckinridge's entire vote was 847,514, and this would leave the secession majority of both sections about 141,000 votes, in a comparison of the candidates generally tolerated by the Slave States. There may be some impropriety, too, in the general assumption that these 277,000 Northern Breckinridge votes were in accord with the secession sentiment of the South. It may as well be said here, however, that from this band mainly came the real and fictitious "fire in the rear," which became a matter of some importance in the great contest over the question which the friends of slavery determined should not be set-

tled by ballots. The number of this band fluctuated materially at different periods; nor was it always drawn from the 277,000.

An unreasonable and unaccountable madness at one time seized many of the supporters of Mr. Lincoln. Men like Horace Greeley, and scores of newspaper editors of some importance, and other men of standing, as well as thousands of no influence whatever in public matters, not only cried, Let them go, but, Kick them out. Yet these men would have hotly resented the charge of secession against themselves. But what else but secessionists were they, practically? It was the trial period, and amidst unknown and extraordinary events men groped and floundered. The great points of safe, just, and unalterable judgment were overlooked. The hearts and passions of men stood before their reason. But many or all of these erratic Republicans, in no great length of time, discovered where the true was, and became themselves as true as steel. And the guns of Fort Sumter helped others to see things as they had never been able to do before.

When the result of the election was known, the eager and hopeful train of office-hunters was greatly augmented, and the real difficulties of the situation now began in earnest to be felt by Mr. Lincoln. It was a field in which he had had no experience, and he was called upon to satisfy a new party, which, as such, had never fed at the public paps. It was a herculean task, or would have been to most men. It was supposed, as a matter of course, that all the

Democrats would be turned out of office, and a clean, new deal would be made all around. A hungry army, ten times too large, was waiting anxiously to see this work begin. But Mr. Lincoln had his own ideas about this matter, and they rather served to put the whole case in a ludicrous light. The difference between him, at that time at least, and the mass of party men everywhere, was that he did not consider the offices of the Government as "spoils" to be divided out among the winners according to the amount of party work each had done, and they did. Mr. Lincoln, with all his sadness and the increasing weight of his burden, could not lose sight of the ridiculous feature of this misunderstanding, and really took the whole matter as a fruitful source of amusement to himself. He really meant to give out the offices to the best, most suitable, and worthy men, as a sacred trust conferred upon him, and many of these worthy fellows he thought he would find among the Democrats, and many of them were then occupying places that it would not be easy to fill without detriment, for a time, at any rate, to the Government.

It is no subject of doubt that, at this juncture, Mr. Lincoln really contemplated putting Southern men in important places under the Government. In the usual gush and erroneous and exaggerated sense of charity towards all men, characteristic of the moment, he probably did indirectly offer positions in his Cabinet to Guthrie, of Kentucky, and Gilmore, of North Carolina; and it is believed that he even

considered the advisability of asking Alexander H. Stephens to become one of his counselors. If he did so contemplate, Mr. Stephens certainly had no intimation of it, other than by mere rumor, or by an apparently objectless correspondence between Mr. Lincoln and himself.

On the 14th of November, 1860, Mr. Stephens made a speech which was supposed to represent the better feelings of the calmer and more temperate among the people of his section. Without any especial need for it, and somewhat strangely, on account of this speech, Mr. Lincoln sent the following short letter to its author:—

“SPRINGFIELD, ILL., November 30, 1860.

“HON. A. H. STEPHENS:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—I have read in the newspapers, your speech recently delivered, I think, before the Georgia Legislature, or its assembled members. If you have revised it, as is probable, I shall be much obliged if you will send me a copy. Yours very truly,

“A. LINCOLN.”

Of course, Mr. Lincoln had met Mr. Stephens in Congress, and was well acquainted with him; and Mr. Stephens says that he esteemed Lincoln highly. This was some ground for his writing for a corrected copy of a speech in which there could have been few errors, and the whole meaning and spirit of which were clear enough, and which had been revised before its publication to the country.

On the 14th of December, Mr. Stephens answered, addressing “Hon.” Abraham Lincoln, and stating

that the speech, as reported, was substantially correct, and notifying him, not unkindly, that great responsibilities rested upon him at that crisis in the affairs of the Nation. This brought the following undignified and spiritless letter from Mr. Lincoln:—

“For your own eye only.”

“SPRINGFIELD, ILL., December 22, 1860.

HON. A. H. STEPHENS:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—Your obliging answer to my short note is just received, and for which please accept my thanks. I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of responsibility on me. Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican Administration would, directly or indirectly, interfere with the slaves, or with them, about their slaves? If they do, I wish to show you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fears.

“The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended, while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That, I suppose, is the rub. It contains the only substantial difference between us.

“Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.”

This little letter is copied from Mr. Stephens's book bearing the exceedingly pretentious title of “A Constitutional View of the Late War between the States,” and if it may be taken as correct and genuine, which nobody ought to doubt, it is an insignificant performance for a President. It seems to have but one redeeming trait, and that is that it was designed “for your own eye only.” But this appropriately introduces the conduct of Mr. Stephens in

exposing it to other eyes. There was a moral obligation in the matter. Did that end with the close of Mr. Lincoln's earthly career? May friends or enemies, at will, lay open to the world the trifling, crooked, inexplicable, weak, ambiguous steps of a man, simply because he does not live where he may blush, contradict, or explain?

The statement that the South had no more grounds for fear than it had in the days of Washington was not fortunate or true, for the times had actually changed; the views of men were not harmonious on the question of slavery as they were to a great extent in the days of Washington. Then slavery was not an issue, now it was the only issue of any great moment. Little can be made of this letter, unless it were designed to draw Mr. Stephens out in order to be better able to decide upon his fitness for a Cabinet position. If Mr. Lincoln ever had any notion of offering Alexander H. Stephens a place in his Cabinet, Mr. Stephens's answer to this letter must have dissipated it. Mr. Lincoln's letter, as trifling as it seems to be, was a gem of good sense by the side of Mr. Stephens's reply. After admitting that Washington, Jefferson, and other Presidents were anti-slavery in sentiment, and making the very proper point on Mr. Lincoln, that anti-slavery did not in those days enter as an element into party organizations, he branches into the great weakness of the South, the religious status of slavery. What was true of the power of Congress over the Church, or a Church, was true of its power over slavery. These

things were alike. It had no power over religion, it had none over slavery. Parties were not formed on differences of Church or slavery then; why should they be now? Fanaticism, fanaticism, had arisen, and this was at the foundation of it all; and of course, fanaticism belonged only on the north side of the slave-line. Northern States had passed laws inimical to the Fugitive Slave Law, and John Brown had made a raid on slavery into Virginia, and no leading Republicans had openly condemned his conduct. "Ultimate sovereignty" was in the States, not in the Government; the States could resume their "ultimate sovereignty" when they desired; the General Government had no power or right to coerce them; and if it was successful in exercising such a power, the result would be "consolidated despotism."

This fallacious drive, fallacious at all times, before the experiment as well as after it, certainly could have had no other effect than to drive from the mind of Mr. Lincoln the folly of appointing Southern men to places in the Republican Administration. Yet this course was strongly urged upon him at Washington, and in much truer and more patriotic parts of the country. Reconciliation and conciliation were the roads open to him, and in these lines he was expected, somehow, nobody knew or surmised how, to say or do something that would lift the cloud from the country. Even the strong, as well as the weak, urged or favored concessions to slavery. But this man, whose administrative

ability was doubted by his own party, and whose finest and strongest quality even with the Republicans had been his honesty, thought and felt better, more correctly, and was stronger and truer than all these gratuitous counselors and planners. After fostering every kind feeling, and harboring all kinds of ideas and schemes as to inducing the South to share in his administration of the Government, he saw its futility and incorrectness, and was able to say: "I am sorry any Republican inclines to dally with popular sovereignty of any sort. It acknowledges that slavery has equal rights with liberty, and surrenders all we have contended for. Once fastened on us as a settled policy, filibustering for all south of us and making Slave States of it follow in spite of us, with an early Supreme Court decision holding our Free-State constitutions to be unconstitutional. Would Scott or Stephens go into the Cabinet? And if yea, on what terms? Do they come to me? or I go to them? Or are we to lead off in open hostility to each other?"

Shortly after his election Mr. Lincoln made a visit to Chicago, and, of course, was entertained in a splendid manner, and notwithstanding his awkward and not very polished ways, he conducted himself quite satisfactorily to his numerous friends. Among the good things he did on this trip, supposed worthy of recital in the newspapers and biographies, was his especial notice of little children. Every great man is put down as an especial friend of little children, and Mr. Lincoln is represented as being fully up to

the stereotype gauge on this point. A great fond father brought his little son into the crowd, where he would not have brought him if he had not thought the said little son was just the cutest, smartest, best dressed, and most lovely fellow in the whole world of boys; in fact, was the only one that would not be an outrageous nuisance in such an utterly unsuitable place for little children; the only one worth notice or toleration, notwithstanding the erroneous views of other fond and narrow-minded parents. Now, this urchin, who was no doubt a wholly spoiled and exceedingly disagreeable fellow, had scarcely got noticeable standing room when he shouted, "Hurra for Lincoln!" This unlooked for explosion, as a matter of course, attracted Mr. Lincoln's notice, and taking the boy in his hands he lifted him above his head, saying, to the delight of everybody, "Hurra for you!"

At another time a little girl approached him and asked him for his name, when he told her that the other little girls in the room would not be pleased if he gave his name to her and not to them. She answered that there were only eight in all. Mr. Lincoln then told her to get eight sheets of paper, and on these he wrote a line and signed his name. Thus each of the little girls got the "autograph" of the President-elect, and he demonstrated, beyond a doubt, his thoughtfulness and affection for children generally. How green and simple a great part of this world yet is! None of these incidents tell the truth of Abraham Lincoln more than they would of most men who have in them a little of the "milk of

human kindness." Mr. Lincoln really cared little for children; that is, for other people's children. Did not like them, in fact, or desire to be annoyed by them, in his maturer years. To his own children he was affectionate and tolerant in the extreme, as will be seen farther on. But in all this he was about like other people. Why, a woman has just been telling me, a right good woman, too, that she hates children, all children but her own, and that it is one of the sorest ordeals of her life when calling on a neighbor to be obliged to kiss all the children, which she knows she must do or mortally offend the fond mother. Most men, at least, are able, perhaps, to do justice to other people's children, and wise parents should expect little more. Some one asked what was prettier than a pretty little girl, and the answer was a pretty big girl. This has been the verdict of men, merely, for many generations.

But to the work in hand again. Mr. Lincoln had just passed through a great trial, and, to the admiration of his friends, borne in silence the abuses heaped upon him. No Presidential contest had been like this. Before men had been in fun, now they were in earnest. Passion and ill-will ruled the hour. Against the Republicans and their candidates no scurrility was too low or extravagant. To fire the Southern heart was the desire of the political leaders, and the work was now well done. The "Illinois Ape," as poor Lincoln was called, by way of refinement, when the contest was over, had the greatness and goodness never to hold these offenses against

these mad and inconsiderate people. He had gone safely and successfully through the conflict with his political enemies. The next step was a conflict with his friends. And this was likely to be far more serious than any through which he had yet passed. Many a knight had stripped himself or spent his strength in the long campaign, and now felt that the reward should come. The struggles of the future they thought little of, for few Republicans believed anything else than that the storm of passion would blow over, and the country would march on about as it had done when other Presidents were elected. If Douglas, or Bell, or Breckinridge had been elected, they would have submitted with the best possible grace, and would these other people who had lost in the race not do the same?

Mr. Lincoln had no fear of the ambitious and able men of his party. He never stopped to think that he might lose in comparison with some of them by his side. From one point he viewed the whole matter. He needed the counsels and aid of the most able men the party had, and the country also needed and expected the services of the most able men, and those in whom confidence could be placed. One other element doubtlessly, to some extent, entered into Mr. Lincoln's feelings as to the selection of his Cabinet, and that was the losses of other leading men which had given him the nomination.

However this all may have been, when it was fairly decided that the New Administration must stand by its own principles, Mr. Lincoln started out

boldly in the right way to organize his Cabinet. He had no difficulty in deciding that Mr. Seward should stand at the head of his Council, if one member of the President's Cabinet can be said to be above another. And Chase and Bates, two others of his competitors at Chicago, were also readily selected, and their places fixed long before he went to Washington to assume his office.

On the night before the nomination was made at Chicago, some of Mr. Lincoln's friends were foolish enough to make a bargain with the friends of Mr. Cameron to the effect that if they would support Mr. Lincoln for the nomination and he should be elected, Cameron should have a place in the Cabinet. A small majority of the Pennsylvania delegation favored this arrangement. Although few members of that delegation had been for Cameron, they were not for Mr. Lincoln. Cameron had no showing for the nomination, but he had a certain influence, and the delegation from his State hoped to be benefited by the bargain.

Some sort of an arrangement was also made with Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, to bring the influence he was exerting to the support of Mr. Lincoln, on the condition that he should have a place in the Cabinet. This whole business was now giving Mr. Lincoln a great deal of trouble. He had not dreamed of his over-zealous friends putting him under obligations which would compromise his honor with the people at the very outset. Of his own choice, he would not have selected either of these men. There was a strong opposition made to the appointment of both

of these men, especially Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Lincoln wavered between his sense of obligation to his friends and his country. Both the advocates and opposers of Mr. Cameron visited Springfield, and the case was fully presented to Mr. Lincoln. Cameron himself made a trip to see Mr. Lincoln, who finally asked documentary evidence of the correctness of the charges made against him, and these not appearing, or at any rate not to his satisfaction, he concluded to make the appointments as agreed upon by his backers at Chicago. The case was not so bad that it could not be remedied, nor was it ever quite apparent that the case was at all so bad as the opposers of Mr. Cameron represented, or that their opposition was so just or clearly founded. But into the merits of this case I do not feel inclined to go, nor do I feel bound to do so. One thing may be assumed as true that Mr. Lincoln was, perhaps, never satisfied with these appointments or the way they were brought about.

Whatever was the extent of the influence brought to bear in these two cases, in the main Mr. Lincoln formed his own Cabinet, and when it was formed stood at the head of it in every quality suited to the emergency, a thing that remained true to the end, if, in some respects, Edwin M. Stanton may not form an exception.

In twenty-four hours after his election, in the quiet of his own home, Mr. Lincoln had determined upon his counselors, and from this conclusion there was little or no change at the time of entering upon

the Presidency, although the friends of Mr. Seward were, to the last, opposed to the appointment of Mr. Chase. Seward and Chase both considered themselves party leaders, but in their personal differences and schemes other members neither sympathized nor felt any interest. That Mr. Seward entered upon his duties under the erroneous and unfortunate idea that he was, to a great extent, the head of the Administration, there can be no doubt. To this error may be traced much or most of the indecision and confusion of the first months of Mr. Lincoln's Presidency. And in this error a few men, like Charles Francis Adams, long remained. But this point will be more fully discussed in another chapter.

CHAPTER XIX.

MR. LINCOLN'S FAREWELL TO HIS OLD FRIENDS—JOURNEY TO WASHINGTON—HIS INTERESTING
LITTLE SPEECHES.

EARLY in February, 1861, Mr. Lincoln made a visit to his old friends in Coles County. His step-mother, Sally Bush, was then residing with her daughter, Mrs. Moore, at Farmington in that county. Dennis Hanks was also living in that county. John D. Johnston was dead. Mr. Lincoln did himself the honor to call at the house of Dennis, and there he met many of his old and early acquaintances. Although Dennis never felt quite certain that Abe had not changed some in his heart toward his old-time associates, yet this was a very memorable event in his life. Everybody liked Lincoln in Illinois, especially in this part of it; everybody was glad to see him now since he had risen to be a great man, and everybody, without caring for party, wished him to be very successful in his conduct of public affairs. During this trip Mr. Lincoln visited the neglected grave of his father, and made to Chapman, Dennis Hanks's son-in-law, a promise in reference to this grave which he failed to carry out, as mentioned in an early chapter of this work.

The most noticeable part of this last visit of Mr.

Lincoln to his friends or relatives was in the conduct of his step-mother and himself. There is no doubt as to a genuine attachment between them. In order to have more time with her than he could afford to spend at Farmington, she rode back with him in the buggy to Charleston. On separating, they embraced each other, and Mrs. Lincoln told him that she should never see him again, that she was convinced that his enemies would kill him. And Mr. Lamon says that he called her "mamma," and told her that they should meet again. If there ever could be a time when an overgrown fifty-year-old man could possibly be excused for being so childish as to call his mother "mamma" in the presence of other persons, it might be on an occasion of this kind.

Mr. Lincoln, like many other people, never thought, perhaps, about the use of this trifling and childish word, or its last syllable, and in this fact there was some apology for him. Some exact and conscientious man once refused to vote for a distinguished Kentuckian because his speech was made vulgar and unrefined by the use of such terms as *whar*, *thar*, *squar*, and like Africanisms. In this he did perfectly right, perhaps, in withholding his vote; the candidate's habits were lax, if his principles were not. A full grown politician, who would stand up before an audience and speak of his mother as his "mamma" or "ma," should not only be "slain" at the polls, but be actually killed outright. And yet, he could plead general usage and carelessness.

If I had appointed a last meeting between Abraham Lincoln and Sally Bush, his father's second wife, the history of it would have read about in this way: The President-elect then led his aged step-mother into an adjoining room and gently closed the door. What passed between them in the short half hour, they themselves only knew, if God and good angels did not also in some way know. One thing is certain, no earthly eye vulgarized the scene, and no earthly tongue was able to cast upon it the imputation of insincerity. When the President-elect came from the room and softly closed the door, leaving his mother behind him, he was again the strong man, although, perhaps, traces of tears may have been seen on his furrowed cheek; and with a smile of the sad kind, so familiar to his friends, pointing to the room he had just left, he said lightly that she, too, whispered assassination in his ear. This was the last time Mr. Lincoln ever met this good woman, who had been a true friend to him, and for whom he had a sincere affection. She had made a prediction, a prophesy, and it was fulfilled. She outlived him.

Mr. Lincoln was on the eve of starting to the National Capital to begin his duties as President. Look at the following pen picture of him as he was at this period:—

“Mr. Lincoln was about six feet four inches high, the length of his legs being out of all proportion to that of his body. When he sat down on a chair, he seemed no taller than an average man, measuring from the chair to the crown of his head; but his knees rose high in front,

and a marble placed on the cap of one of them would roll down a steep descent to the hip. He weighed about a hundred and eighty pounds; but he was thin through the breast, narrow across the shoulders, and had the general appearance of a consumptive subject. Standing up, he stooped slightly forward; sitting down, he usually crossed his long legs, or threw them over the arms of the chair, as the most convenient way of disposing of them. His 'head was long, and tall from the base of the brain and eyebrow;' his forehead high and narrow, but inclining backward as it rose. The diameter of his head from ear to ear was six and a half inches, and from front to back eight inches. The size of his hat was seven and an eighth. His ears were large, standing out at almost right-angles from his head; his cheek bones high and prominent; his eyebrows heavy, and jutting forward over small, sunken blue eyes; his nose long, large, and blunt, the tip of it rather ruddy, and slightly awry toward the right-hand side; his chin, projecting far and sharp, curved upward to meet a thick material lower lip, which hung downward; his cheeks were flabby, and the loose skin fell in wrinkles, or folds; there was a large mole on his right cheek, and an uncommonly prominent Adam's apple on his throat; his hair was dark-brown in color, stiff, unkempt, and as yet showing little or no sign of advancing age or trouble; his complexion was very dark, his skin yellow, shriveled, and 'leathery.' . . . His countenance was haggard and careworn, exhibiting all the marks of deep and protracted suffering. Every feature of the man, the hollow eyes, with the dark rings beneath; the long, sallow, cadaverous face, intersected by those peculiar, deep lines; his whole air; his walk; his long, silent reveries, broken at long intervals by sudden and startling exclamations, as if to confound an observer who might suspect the nature of his thoughts, showed he was a man of sorrows, not sorrows of to-day or yesterday, but long treasured and deep,

bearing with him a continual sense of weariness and pain. He was a plain, homely, sad, weary-looking man, to whom one's heart warmed involuntarily, because he seemed at once miserable and kind."

This is, indeed, an unattractive picture, and in the main correct, although Mr. Lamon, its author, has been charged, unjustly no doubt, with a disposition to give an undue and sensational coloring to much he has said of Mr. Lincoln. To the great mass of Mr. Lincoln's admirers and friends, everything said of him has been unwelcome, unless it was in harmony with their feelings and what they wished to believe to be true.

It was designed by the party managers that Mr. Lincoln should spend two or three weeks on his way to Washington. Not that he should make big speeches, but that he should say nothing; say kind things to the people, and start a warm and favorable impression of him as an introduction to a satisfactory and peaceable inauguration. This was a difficult task for Mr. Lincoln; as a mere exhibition he could not be very successful, and he was not good at saying nothing in speeches.

On the cold, rainy morning of the 11th day of February, Mr. Lincoln with his family, and in company with Governor Yates, Ex-Governor Moore, Dr. W. M. Wallace (Mr. Lincoln's brother-in-law), N. P. Judd, Judge David Davis, Colonel E. E. Ellsworth, O. H. Browning, Ward H. Lamon, John M. Hay, and John G. Nicolay, left Springfield on this long and difficult journey. When Mr. Lincoln took the rear

platform of the car in which he was to travel, to bid farewell to the thousands of friends who had collected at the depot to see him, hear him, or take his hand for the last time, perhaps, he seemed for a time unable to speak. He was borne down with the sense of his great undertaking, and the burden seemed greater as he looked for the last time upon the friends among whom he had risen to distinction. Finally, in the position he had first taken on the platform, with his hat in his hand, he uttered about these words :—

“MY FRIENDS,—No one who has never been placed in a like position can understand my feelings at this hour, nor the oppressive sadness I feel at this parting. For more than a quarter of a century I have lived among you, and during all that time I have received nothing but kindness at your hands. Here I have lived from my youth, until now I am an old man. Here the most sacred ties of earth were assumed. Here all my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. To you, dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All the strange, checkered past seems to crowd now upon my mind. To-day I leave you. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the Great God, who assisted him, shall be with and aid me, I must fail; but if the same Omniscient Mind and Almighty Arm that directed and protected him shall guide and support me, I shall not fail; I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To Him I commend you all.

“Permit me to ask that, with equal security and faith, you will invoke His wisdom and guidance for me. With these few words I must leave you; for how long, I know

not. Friends, one and all, I must now bid you an affectionate farewell."

When he had finished these appropriate words, the train moved out, and this sad, weary man went on his way. This parting speech was substantially telegraphed over the country, and was met by various interpretations. To some extent it was set down as insincere; and the man and his words were not understood. Who, indeed, has ever been understood in this world, even by those who knew the most or prided themselves on their opportunities to know?

There were some strange things in this short address. They hardly accorded with Mr. Lincoln's known or unknown principles; nor are they now, perhaps, reconcilable to the indifferent student of his character. In the common acceptance of the term he was not then, or at any other time, a praying man. In 1856 he had said to some hot-headed friends of Free Kansas: "Friends, I agree with you in Providence; but I believe in the providence of the most men—the largest purse, and the longest cannon." His prayer before men had been a prayer of action. Living with the hands and mind actively and for the best had been the style of prayer on which he relied, and which he seemed to think would prove best in the end.

Still, nothing that Abraham Lincoln ever uttered or did was more sincere, perhaps, than this whole speech at Springfield. He had long been in the habit of thinking that there was a fixed and unavoidable

relation between the ways of Providence and the events of his own life. And at this moment he was fully under the influence of this feeling. God seemed as veritable to him, and as much a "help in every time of need" out of Him in whom He dwelt bodily, as was possible; and with the foolishness or the wisdom of a theology like this it is unnecessary to deal here.

From this time forward it would be an error to look at Mr. Lincoln's acts, words, or feelings and motives in the light of a mere politician. Although he appeared burdened and weak, he had never, indeed, been so strong. He had aimed at a height as a personal achievement, and had gained it. His merely selfish dream was, to a great extent, realized. It was now left for him to live for the benefit of his country, to do good deeds which would leave him a good name among his fellow-men. Even in his dreams of personal successes he had longed and mourned for the opportunity to do something in which the race and the age would be benefited.

In a future chapter Mr. Lincoln's morals and religion will be examined at length, and the question of selfishness in him fully discussed. It may be said here that a distinct epoch, in one leading particular at least, began in his career morally from the day of his election to the Presidency. His jealousy toward men was gone, and his desire to do well because it was best to do well took the lead. His good and admirable traits expanded and developed with his opportunities to use them. And greater opportunities than were now opening before him he never

could have had. It remains to be seen in the following portions of these volumes how far Mr. Lincoln profited by his extraordinary advantages in a way to meet the approval of a conscientious, unselfish, moral man, or a just and enlightened world.

As the train bearing the Presidential party moved on its long journey, vast crowds gathered at every station to get a glimpse of or hear a word from Mr. Lincoln. Although he desired to say little of national affairs, and perhaps little should have been expected of him, still affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis without his interference, and there seemed to be a vague hope that this untried man could say and do something which would stop the blind, mad work of secession then going on. Every attempt was made to draw him out, mainly by his political friends, or by those who were earnest in their hope that his Administration of public affairs would in some way bring peace out of rebellion and chaos. The man and the times were such as to lend an extraordinary interest to this journey. Such a journey had never been made before; such speeches had never before been heard; so strange and interesting a character had never before attracted the attention, hopes, and sympathies of the American people; and such strange, frank, hearty, or doubtful, suppressed, or anxious enthusiasm had never before greeted the ears of an American President on his way to assume his office at the seat of government.

Thousands of men now living can remember how little stress was put upon much said by Mr. Lincoln

on this trip, and how deeply were censured or crookedly criticised his simple and earnest words. These were his political enemies; but few of them now live who would to-day in their hearts renew the imputations then lightly or madly made against him. And it is a happy circumstance that his good deeds and honesty, and not so much his tragic end, produced this change in their sentiments.

Many incidents of this journey were of peculiar interest, which can not be mentioned here. Shaking hands with a President-elect or a President in office has always been regarded as a memorable privilege by the average American citizen. In fact, it is regarded as the next thing to being President, or at any rate, to being great. Presidential hand-shaking is a national trait with us, and no amount of ridicule is likely to lead to its abandonment even in the White House. Mr. Lincoln had fine powers in this way, and on this journey they were well displayed to the gratification of his friends. If one of his long arms and hands was not sufficient for the emergency he used both. A writer describing his experience in this way at Columbus, Ohio, says:—

“People plunged at his arms with frantic enthusiasm, and all the infinite varieties of shakes, from the wild and irrepressible pump-handle movement, to the dead grip, were executed upon the devoted dexter and sinister of the President. Some glanced at his face as they grasped his hand; others invoked the blessing of Heaven upon him; others affectionately gave him their last gasping assurance of devotion; others bewildered and furious, with hats crushed over their eyes, seized his hands in a convulsive

grasp, and passed on as if they had not the remotest idea who, what, or where they were."

At Erie, where Mr. Lincoln made a brief speech, he stated that during the campaign he received a letter from a young girl of that place in which, among other things, she advised him to let his whiskers grow. This instruction he had followed, and if the fair correspondent were in the crowd, as he hoped she was, he would like to have the pleasure of meeting her. And sure enough the miss who had written the billet came forward and was raised to the platform where Mr. Lincoln received her quite warmly and kissed her. Two or three other cases resulted similarly on this trip, but they were confined to children.

Generals Jackson and Taylor, equally homely men, on their way to Washington up the Ohio River had extended their osculatory attentions to the women. Under the old monkish division of kissing, perhaps, all this Presidential kissing should be designated as diplomatic. But it is mentioned here mainly for the purpose of saying that while an apology with a good side may be found for this conduct of Presidents and some other public men who consider themselves privileged, it is certainly unnecessary, if not rude and disgusting. The snap of the kiss in public however it comes, whether it is the social or etiquetrical kind, or that between real friends, or even children and parents, savors very decidedly of sham, if it is not really something worse.

Still wherever Mr. Lincoln went, and whatever

he did, he carried the feelings of the mass with him. Whether kissing the children, raising the starry flag over Independence Hall, answering the very doubtful speech of the secession mayor of New York, shaking hands with the good-natured thousands, in making the vast number of brief speeches, in being simple, plain, and sensible, the general result was favorable, and only in his secret passage from Philadelphia to Washington did his friends feel disposed to find fault with him. From the short speeches made by Mr. Lincoln on this journey it may be plainly seen that he shared with the great mass of Northern men in the belief that the Union would be preserved without war; and clearly enough, too, is shadowed forth the policy of conciliation which he pursued until it ceased to be wise or beneficial. At Indianapolis he said in one of his two or three short speeches:—

“FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE STATE OF INDIANA,—I am here to thank you for this magnificent welcome, and still more for the very generous support given by your State to that political cause, which, I think, is the true and just cause of the whole country, and the whole world. Solomon says, ‘There is a time to keep silence;’ and when men wrangle by the month, with no certainty that they mean the same thing while using the same words, it perhaps were as well if they would keep silence.

“The words ‘coercion’ and ‘invasion’ are much used in these days, and often with some temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. Let us get the exact definitions of these words; not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by the use of the words.

“What, then, is coercion? What is invasion? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent

of her people, and with hostile intent toward them, be invasion? I certainly think it would, and it would be coercion also, if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all of these things be invasion or coercion? Do our professed lovers of the Union, who spitefully resolve that they will resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these, on the part of the United States, would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their great affection would seem to be exceedingly thin and airy. If sick, the little pills of the homeopathist would be much too large for it to swallow. In their view, the Union, as a family relation, would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of 'free-love' arrangement, to be maintained on passional attraction.

"By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution, for that is a bond we all recognize. That position, however, a State can not carry out of the Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is less than itself, and to ruin all which is larger than itself. If a State and a county, in a given case, should be equal in number of inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the county? Would an exchange of name be an exchange of rights? Upon what principle, upon what rightful principle, may a State, being no more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation, and then coerce a proportionably large subdivision of itself in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country with its people, by merely calling it a State? Fellow-citizens, I am not asserting anything. I am merely asking questions for you to consider. And now allow me to bid you farewell."

At Cincinnati he said:—

"MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,—I have spoken but once before this in Cincinnati. That was a year previous to the

late Presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner, but with sincere words, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we, as Republicans, would ultimately beat them as Democrats; but that they could postpone that result longer by nominating Senator Douglas for the Presidency, than they could in any other way. They did not, in any true sense of the word, nominate Mr. Douglas, and the result has come certainly as soon as ever I expected. I also told them how I expected they would be treated after they should have been beaten; and I now wish to call their attention to what I then said upon that subject. I then said: 'When we do as we say, beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, as far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as near as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institutions; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution; and in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you so far as degenerate men, if we have degenerated, may, according to the example of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us, other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly.'

"Fellow-citizens of Kentucky! friends! brethren, may I call you in my new position? I see no occasion, and feel no inclination to retract a word of this. If it shall not be made good, be assured the fault shall not be mine."

At Columbus he said:—

"MR. PRESIDENT AND MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,—It is true, as has been said by the President of the Senate, that very great responsibility rests upon me in the position to which the votes of the American people have called me. I am deeply sensible of that weighty responsibility. I can not but know what you all know, that without a name, perhaps without a reason why I should have a name,

there has fallen upon me a task such as did not rest even upon the Father of his Country, and so feeling, I can not but turn and look for the support without which it will be impossible for me to perform that great task. I turn, then, and look to the great American people, and to that God who has never forsaken them.

“Allusion has been made to the interest felt in relation to the policy of the new Administration. In this I have received from some a degree of credit for having kept silence, and from others some depreciation. I still think that I was right. In the varying and repeatedly shifting scenes of the present, and without a precedent which could enable me to judge by the past, it has seemed fitting that before speaking upon the difficulties of the country, I should have gained a view of the whole field so as to be sure after all—at liberty to modify and change the course of policy as future events may make a change necessary. I have not maintained silence from any want of real anxiety. It is a good thing that there is no more than anxiety, for there is nothing going wrong. It is a consoling circumstance that when we look out, there is nothing that really hurts anybody. We entertain different views upon political questions, but nobody is suffering anything. This is a most consoling circumstance, and from it we may conclude that all we want is time, patience, and a reliance on that God who has never forsaken this people. Fellow-citizens, what I have said I have said altogether extemporaneously, and will now come to a close.”

At Pittsburgh he spoke as follows:—

“The condition of the country is an extraordinary one, and fills the mind of every patriot with anxiety. It is my intention to give this subject all the consideration I possibly can, before specially deciding in regard to it, so that when I do speak, it may be as nearly right as possible. When I do speak, I hope I may say nothing in opposition to the spirit of the Constitution, contrary to the integrity of the Union, or which will prove inimical to the liberties of the people or to the peace of the whole country. And, furthermore, when the time arrives for

me to speak on this great subject, I hope I may say nothing to disappoint the people generally throughout the country, especially if the expectation has been based upon anything which I may have heretofore said. Notwithstanding the troubles across the river—(the speaker pointing southwardly across the Monongahela, and smiling)—there is no crisis but an artificial one. What is there now to warrant the condition of affairs presented by our friends over the river? Take even their own view of the questions involved, and there is nothing to justify the course they are pursuing. I repeat, then, there is no crisis, excepting such a one as may be gotten up at any time by turbulent men, aided by designing politicians. My advice to them, under such circumstances, is to *keep cool*. If the great American people only keep their temper on both sides of the line, the troubles will come to an end, and the question which now distracts the country will be settled, just as surely as all other difficulties of a like character which have originated in this Government have been adjusted. Let the people on both sides keep their self-possession, and just as other clouds have cleared away in due time, so will this great nation continue to prosper as heretofore."

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I see you have erected a very fine and handsome platform here for me, and I presume you expected me to speak from it. If I should go upon it, you would imagine that I was about to deliver you a much longer speech than I am. I wish you to understand that I mean no discourtesy to you by thus declining. I intend discourtesy to no one. But I wish you to understand that, though I am unwilling to go upon this platform, you are not at liberty to draw any inferences concerning any other platform with which my name has been or is connected. (Laughter and applause.) I wish you long life and prosperity individually, and pray that with the perpetuity of those institutions under which we have all so long lived and prospered, our happiness may be secured, our future made brilliant, and the glorious destiny of our country established forever. I bid you a kind farewell."—(At Syracuse.)

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have no speech to make to you, and no time to speak in. I appear before you that I may

see you, and that you may see me ; and I am willing to admit, that so far as the ladies are concerned, I have the best of the bargain, though I wish it to be understood that I do not make the same acknowledgment concerning the men.”—(At Utica.)

“ MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,—It is with feelings of great diffidence, and I may say, feelings even of awe, perhaps greater than I have recently experienced, that I meet you here in this place. The history of this great State, the renown of its great men, who have stood in this chamber, and have spoken their thoughts, all crowd around my fancy, and incline me to shrink from an attempt to address you. Yet I have some confidence given me by the generous manner in which you have invited me, and the still more generous manner in which you have received me. You have invited me and received me without distinction of party. I could not for a moment suppose that this has been done in any considerable degree with any reference to my personal self. It is very much more grateful to me that this reception and the invitation preceding it, were given to me as the representative of a free people, than it could possibly have been were they but the evidence of devotion to me or to any one man. It is true that, while I hold myself, without mock-modesty, the humblest of all the individuals who have ever been elected President of the United States, I yet have a more difficult task to perform than any one of them has ever encountered. You have here generously tendered me the support, the united support, of the great Empire State. For this, in behalf of the nation ; in behalf of the present and of the future of the nation ; in behalf of the cause of civil liberty in all time to come, I most gratefully thank you. I do not propose now to enter upon any expressions as to the particular line of policy to be adopted with reference to the difficulties that stand before us in the opening of the incoming Administration. I deem that it is just to the country, to myself, to you, that I should see everything, hear everything, and have every light that can possibly be brought within my reach, to aid me before I shall speak officially, in order that, when I do speak, I may have the best possible means of taking correct and true grounds.

For this reason, I do not now announce anything in the way of policy for the new Administration. When the time comes, according to the custom of the Government, I shall speak, and speak as well as I am able, for the good of the present and of the future of this country; for the good of the North and of the South; for the good of one and of the other, and of all sections of it. In the meantime, if we have patience, if we maintain our equanimity, though some may allow themselves to run off in a burst of passion, I still have confidence that the Almighty Ruler of the universe, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people, can and will bring us through this difficulty, as he has heretofore brought us through all preceding difficulties of the country. Relying upon this, and again thanking you, as I forever shall, in my heart, for this generous reception you have given me, I bid you farewell.”—
(At Albany.)

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I am rather an old man to avail myself of such an excuse as I am now about to do. Yet the truth is so distinct, and presses itself so distinctly upon me, that I can not well avoid it—and that is, that I did not understand when I was brought into this room that I was brought here to make a speech. It was not intimated to me that I was brought into the room where Daniel Webster and Henry Clay had made speeches, and where, in my position, I might be expected to do something like those men, or do something worthy of myself or my audience. I, therefore, will beg you to make very great allowance for the circumstances in which I have been by surprise brought before you. Now, I have been in the habit of thinking and speaking sometimes upon political questions that have for some years past agitated the country; and, if I were disposed to do so, and we could take up some one of the issues, as the lawyers call them, and I were called upon to make an argument about it to the best of my ability, I could do so without much preparation. But that is not what you desire to be done here to-night.

“I have been occupying a position, since the Presidential election, of silence, of avoiding public speaking, of avoiding public writing. I have been doing so, because I thought, upon

full consideration, that was the proper course for me to take. (Great applause.) I am brought before you now, and required to make a speech, when you all approve more than anything else of the fact that I have been keeping silence. (Great laughter, cries of 'Good,' and applause.) And now it seems to me that the response you give to that remark ought to justify me in closing just here. (Great laughter.) I have not kept silence since the Presidential election from any party wantonness, or from any indifference to the anxiety that pervades the minds of men about the aspect of the political affairs of this country. I have kept silence for the reason that I supposed it was peculiarly proper that I should do so until the time came when, according to the custom of the country, I could speak officially. (A voice—'The custom of the country?') I heard some gentleman say, 'According to the custom of the country.' I alluded to the custom of the President-elect, at the time of taking the oath of office. That is what I meant by 'the custom of the country.' I do suppose that, while the political drama being enacted in this country, at this time, is rapidly shifting its scenes—forbidding an anticipation, with any degree of certainty, to-day, what we shall see to-morrow—it was peculiarly fitting that I should see it all, up to the last minute, before I should take ground that I might be disposed, by the shifting of the scenes afterwards, also to shift. (Applause.) I have said several times, upon this journey, and I now repeat it to you, that when the time does come, I shall then take the ground that I think is right (applause); the ground that I think is right (applause, and cries of 'Good, good'); right for the North, for the South, for the East, for the West, for the whole country. (Cries of 'Good,' 'Hurra for Lincoln,' and applause.) And in doing so, I hope to feel no necessity pressing upon me to say anything in conflict with the Constitution; in conflict with the continued union of these States (applause); in conflict with the perpetuation of the liberties of this people (applause), or anything in conflict with anything whatever that I have ever given you reason to expect from me. (Applause.) And now, my friends, have I said enough? (Loud cries of 'No, no,' and 'Three cheers for Lincoln.') Now, my friends, there appears to be a difference of opinion between you and me, and

I really feel called upon to decide the question myself. (Applause, during which Mr. Lincoln descended from the table.)"—(To Republicans in New York City.)

"MR. MAYOR,—It is with feelings of deep gratitude that I make my acknowledgments for the reception that has been given me in the great commercial city of New York. I can not but remember, that it is done by the people who do not, by a large majority, agree with me in political sentiment. It is the more grateful to me, because in this I see that for the great principles of our Government the people are pretty nearly or quite unanimous. In regard to the difficulties that confront us at this time, and of which you have seen fit to speak so becomingly and so justly, I can only say that I agree with the sentiments expressed. In my devotion to the Union, I hope I am behind no man in the Nation. As to my wisdom in conducting affairs so as to tend to the preservation of the Union, I fear too great confidence may have been placed in me. I am sure I bring a heart devoted to the work. There is nothing that could ever bring me to consent—willingly to consent—to the destruction of this Union, in which not only the great city of New York, but the whole country, has acquired its greatness, unless it would be that thing for which the Union itself was made. I understand that the ship is made for the carrying and preservation of the cargo; and so long as the ship is safe with the cargo, it shall not be abandoned. This Union shall never be abandoned, unless the possibility of its existence shall cease to exist without the necessity of throwing passengers and cargo overboard. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and liberties of the people can be preserved within this Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to preserve it. And now, Mr. Mayor, renewing my thanks for this cordial reception, allow me to come to a close."—(In reply to Mayor of New York.)

"MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY,—I am grateful to you for the honorable reception of which I have been the object. I can not but remember the place that New Jersey holds in our early history. In the early Revolutionary struggle, few of the States

among the old thirteen had more of the battle-fields of the country within their limits than old New Jersey. May I be pardoned if, upon this occasion, I mention, that away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, such a one as few of the younger members have ever seen, Weems's 'Life of Washington.' I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, New Jersey. The crossing of the river; the contest with the Hessians; the great hardships endured at that time; all fixed themselves on my memory more than any single Revolutionary event. And you all know, for you have all been boys, how these early impressions last longer than any others. I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that these men struggled for. I am exceedingly anxious that that thing which they struggled for; that something even more than national independence; that something, that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come; I am exceedingly anxious that this Union, the Constitution, and the liberties of the people shall be perpetuated, in accordance with the original idea for which that struggle was made. And I shall be most happy indeed, if I shall be a humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and of this his most chosen people, as the chosen instrument, also in the hands of the Almighty, for perpetuating the object of that great struggle. You give me this reception, as I understand, without distinction of party. I learn that this body is composed of a majority of gentlemen who, in the exercise of their best judgment in the choice of a Chief Magistrate, did not think I was the man. I understand, nevertheless, that they come forward here to greet me as the Constitutional President of the United States—as citizens of the United States, to meet the man who, for the time being, is the representative man of the Nation—united by a purpose to perpetuate the Union and liberties of the people. As such, I accept this reception more gratefully than I could do did I believe it was tendered to me as an individual.”—(In the State Senate at Trenton.)

“MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA,—I appear before you to make no lengthy speech, but to thank you for this reception. The reception you have given me to-night is not to me, the man, the individual, but to the man who temporarily represents, or should represent the majesty of the Nation. (Cheers.) It is true, as your worthy mayor has said, that there is anxiety amongst the citizens of the United States at this time. I deem it a happy circumstance that this dissatisfied position of our fellow-citizens does not point us to anything in which they are being injured, or about to be injured, for which reason I have felt all the while justified in concluding that the crisis, the panic, the anxiety of the country at this time, is artificial. If there be those who differ with me upon this subject, they have not pointed out the substantial difficulty that exists. I do not mean to say that an artificial panic may not do considerable harm; that it has done such I do not deny. The hope that has been expressed by your mayor, that I may be able to restore peace, harmony, and prosperity to the country, is most worthy of him; and happy, indeed, will I be if I shall be able to verify and fulfill that hope. (Tremendous cheering.) I promise you, in all sincerity, that I bring to the work a sincere heart. Whether I will bring a head equal to that heart will be for future times to determine. It were useless for me to speak of details of plans now; I shall speak officially next Monday week, if ever. If I should not speak then, it were useless for me to do so now. If I do speak then it is useless for me to do so now. When I do speak, I shall take such ground as I deem best calculated to restore peace, harmony, and prosperity to the country, and tend to the perpetuity of the Nation and the liberty of these States and these people. Your worthy mayor has expressed the wish, in which I join with him, that it were convenient for me to remain in your city long enough to consult your merchants and manufacturers; or, as it were, to listen to those breathings rising within the consecrated walls wherein the Constitution of the United States, and I will add the Declaration of Independence, were originally framed and adopted. (Enthusiastic applause.) I assure you and your mayor that I had hoped on this occasion, and upon all occasions during my life, that I shall do

nothing inconsistent with the teachings of these holy and most sacred walls. I never asked anything that does not breathe from these walls. All my political warfare has been in favor of the teachings that came forth from these sacred walls. May my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if ever I prove false to those teachings! Fellow-citizens, I have addressed you longer than I expected to do, and now allow me to bid you good-night."—(On arriving in Philadelphia.)

"I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to the present distracted condition of the country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the Colonies from the mother-land, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world, for all future time. (Great applause.) It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it can not be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country can not be saved without giving up that principle,

I was about to say I would rather be assassinated upon this spot than surrender it. (Applause.) Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course, and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed, unless it be forced upon the Government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defense. (Applause.)

"My friends, this is wholly an unexpected speech, and I did not expect to be called upon to say a word when I came here. I supposed it was merely to do something towards raising the flag; I may, therefore, have said something indiscreet. (Cries of 'No, no.') I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by."—(In Independence Hall.)

"I appear before you only for a very few, brief remarks, in response to what has been said to me. I thank you most sincerely for this reception and the generous words in which support has been promised me upon this occasion. I thank your great Commonwealth for the overwhelming support it recently gave, not me personally, but the cause which I think a just one, in the late election. (Loud applause.) Allusion has been made to the fact—the interesting fact, perhaps, we should say—that I for the first time appear at the Capital of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania upon the birthday of the Father of his Country, in connection with that beloved anniversary connected with the history of this country. I have already gone through one exceedingly interesting scene this morning in the ceremonies at Philadelphia. Under the high conduct of gentlemen there, I was for the first time allowed the privilege of standing in old Independence Hall (enthusiastic cheering,) to have a few words addressed to me there, and opening up to me an opportunity of expressing, with much regret, that I had not more time to express something of my own feelings, excited by the occasion, somewhat to harmonize and give shape to the feelings that had been really the feelings of my whole life. Besides this, our friends there had provided a magnificent flag of the country. They had arranged it so that I was given the honor of raising it to the head of its

staff. (Applause.) And when it went up I was pleased that it went to its place by the strength of my own feeble arm, when, according to the arrangement, the cord was pulled, and it floated gloriously to the wind, without an accident, in the light, glowing sunshine of the morning. I could not help hoping that there was, in the entire success of that beautiful ceremony, at least something of an omen of what is to come. (Loud applause.) How could I help feeling then as I often have felt? In the whole of that proceeding I was a very humble instrument. I had not provided the flag; I had not made the arrangements for elevating it to its place; I had applied but a very small portion of my feeble strength in raising it. In the whole transaction I was in the hands of the people who had arranged it, and if I can have the same generous co-operation of the people of the Nation, I think the flag of our country may yet be kept flaunting gloriously. (Loud, enthusiastic, and continued cheers.) I recur for a moment but to repeat some words uttered at the hotel, in regard to what has been said about the military support which the General Government may expect from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in a proper emergency. To guard against any possible mistake do I recur to this. It is not with any pleasure that I contemplate the possibility that a necessity may arise in this country for the use of the military arm. (Applause.) While I am exceedingly gratified to see the manifestation upon your streets of your military force here, and exceedingly gratified at your promises here to use that force upon a proper emergency; while I make these acknowledgments, I desire to repeat, in order to preclude any possible misconception, that I do most sincerely hope that we shall have no use for them (applause); that it will never become their duty to shed blood, and most especially never to shed fraternal blood. I promise that, so far as I may have wisdom to direct, if so painful a result shall in anywise be brought about, it shall be through no fault of mine. (Cheers.) Allusion has also been made by one of your honored speakers to some remarks recently made by myself at Pittsburgh, in regard to what is supposed to be the especial interest of this great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I now wish only to say, in regard to that matter, that the few remarks which I uttered on

that occasion were rather carefully worded. I took pains that they should be so. I have seen no occasion since to add to them, or subtract from them. I leave them precisely as they stand (applause), adding only now that I am pleased to have an expression from you, gentlemen of Pennsylvania, significant that they are satisfactory to you. And now, gentlemen of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, allow me to return you again my most sincere thanks."—(In Harrisburg.)

On the way from Springfield to Cincinnati, some attempts were made, it was telegraphed over the country, to throw the train on which Mr. Lincoln was traveling from the track, or in other ways to injure or destroy him. While there was, perhaps, no truth in this matter, it served to excite the already disturbed imaginations of men; and at once it was determined at Washington to make some investigation as to the probable designs of evil-disposed persons on the line to be traveled over by the Presidential party, especially in Maryland, where it was known that even Thomas H. Hicks, the governor, was active in his efforts to serve the cause of Rebellion.

The president of the railroad from Philadelphia to Washington, in part for the safety of his road, took it upon himself to set some detectives to discover any secret scheme which might be developing for mischief on his road in connection with Mr. Lincoln's passage over it. These detectives did, with considerable ease, nose out what they deemed a conspiracy to take the life of the President-elect at Baltimore.

In the meantime, General Scott and Mr. Seward at Washington became convinced that they had certain information of some such villainous scheme. Frederick W. Seward was accordingly sent to meet Mr. Lincoln in Philadelphia, apprise him of the danger, and recommend another route.

After being informed of the supposed designs upon his life, Mr. Lincoln finished the engagements he had in Philadelphia on the 22d and went to Harrisburg. On the following evening, in company with W. H. Lamon, one detective, and an agent of the railroad, he started secretly for Philadelphia, and before midnight, in the sleeping-car of the regular train he left that city for Washington. He wore his ordinary suit, with the addition of a shawl thrown around his shoulders, and a soft hat instead of his ridiculous, tall silk. Notwithstanding the stories concerning his disguises, this was all the change made in his dress. The train passed on its way without hindrance or accident, and arrived in Washington at half-past six on the following morning, and Mr. Lincoln was soon quartered with his friends at Willard's Hotel.

On the afternoon train, the especial train on which he was to travel, his family and suite came on, of course, without molestation, as the news of his secret passage through Maryland in the night had been telegraphed throughout the country. This was considered a disgraceful performance on the part of Mr. Lincoln, even by some of his friends, and he was not a little censured for it. But they were, perhaps, really without just grounds for such a course. Mr.

Lincoln was not a coward, in any sense, and had he been left to his own choice, he would have gone to Washington on the advertised time. He acted under the direction of his friends, simply as all other men would have done under similar circumstances. It does not, it may be, appear certain that there were any such designs or plans upon his life at that time. But this does not materially affect his conduct in the case.

CHAPTER XX.

HANNIBAL HAMLIN—INAUGURATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN—A THRILLING SCENE—A NEW MAN WITH NEW PRINCIPLES AND PLAIN WORDS.

HANNIBAL HAMLIN is a native of Maine, and was born at Paris, in Oxford County, on the 27th of August, 1809. His father, Cyrus Hamlin, filled several political offices, and was a physician. He was a man of some influence, and was not unsuccessful in life, but of his real character and worth, I am not informed. He died in 1828, and his wife, who was a Miss Livermore, also of Oxford County, Maine, outlived him twenty-three years. The death of his father interrupted Hannibal's course at school, and although he was prepared to enter college, he now spent some time at work on the little farm his father had left. He also served a kind of apprenticeship to the printing business, and for a short time edited a little county or town paper, associated with Horatio King. He then studied law, and entered upon its practice at Hampden, in Penobscot County, where he has since resided. In 1836 he was first elected a member of the Legislature of Maine, and in the next four years he was annually re-elected, serving as Speaker of the House in 1837, 1839, and 1840. He was a Democrat, and in a race

for Congress in 1840 was beaten by the Harrison Whig. In 1842, he again ran for Congress, and was elected, taking his seat for the first time in December of the next year. At the end of this term he was re-elected. But this closed his service in the Lower House. In 1847, he was sent to the Legislature, and was a member of that body when in May, 1848, he was chosen to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate made by the death of Senator John Fairfield. Four years afterwards, at the expiration of this term, he was elected for the full term of six years.

In the meantime Mr. Hamlin had taken rank among the first and most successful lawyers of his State, but after entering Congress now, he mainly abandoned his profession, and has since, with little interruption, been continued in some political office. In Congress Mr. Hamlin had stood, from the outset, among the anti-slavery Democrats, although he was not an Abolitionist. He was opposed to the annexation of Texas on the plan proposed by President Polk, and supported the Wilmot Proviso. Subsequently in all the Territorial legislation in Congress he favored the restrictive measures against slavery. He advocated the admission of California in 1850 as a Free State, and took the lead in the discussions on that side. In 1854 he fought against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and was backed in his entire course by the Democratic Legislature which had sent him to Congress. He also opposed the Lecompton Constitution and finally took a firm stand

with the Opposition against the Administration of Franklin Pierce.

His course caused the Republicans of his State to take him up as their candidate for Governor in 1856. The convention nominated him on the first ballot. He went home and stumped the State, and after a most exciting contest was elected. This led to his resignation of his Senatorship, and on the 7th of January, 1857, he entered upon his duties as Governor of the State. But the new party soon discovered that he was needed in Congress, and only nine days after he became Governor, the Legislature again elected him to the United States Senate, and on the 20th of February, 1857, he resigned the first office in the State to renew his place in the Senate. Thus matters stood when the Chicago Convention nominated him for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Mr. Lincoln. On the 4th of March, 1861, Mr. Hamlin took the oath of office, and for four years presided over the Senate with skill and fairness.

Soon after the expiration of his term as Vice-President, Mr. Hamlin was again returned to the National Senate. He is now one of the oldest members of that body, but enjoys unusual health and vigor, and few younger Senators are more laborious and exacting in the duties the office imposes. His hair is now quite gray, and his short and light body somewhat stooped, but his eyes sparkle with much of their former spirit, and the ring of his voice is much as it was when he became one of the leaders of the new and yet dominant party thirty years ago.

His personal and social habits have been extraordinarily good, and in this is the key to his good, vigorous, clean old age. His Senatorial record is admirable, and, although he has never been a man over whom much enthusiasm could be kindled, his official career, both State and national, has been exceptionally clear, manly, and laudable, and few American politicians, in his own, or any other time, occupy a more even, faultless, and worthy place in the history of the country.

Before leaving Springfield Mr. Lincoln had, perhaps, quite fully decided upon the members of his Cabinet, but only a few of his friends were in his secret on this point. It has been held by some that Mr. Lincoln was asked by telegram, from the managing friends in the Convention at Chicago, if they should secure two delegations by an arrangement putting two of his Cabinet ministers beyond his choice, and that he answered at once that he would authorize no bargains, and would not consider himself bound by any that might be made. However this may have been, the bargains were made, and he could not see his way clear for ignoring them. They were carried out, at least for a time. There was little for Mr. Lincoln to do after reaching Washington as to the construction of his Cabinet. He spent some time in revising and giving the final touches to his inaugural address. He visited both branches of Congress, and generally conducted himself in a way to show that he was the enemy of no man, and wished to be regarded as a friend to all men.

But Washington had changed to him since he had visited it before as a member of Congress. He now entered it for a different purpose, and the feeling toward him was decidedly bad. The Capital of the Nation was a Southern city, and in it Northern men had always been compelled to look upon an "institution" and practices repugnant to their tastes and their sense of moral right, without the privilege of toleration for their own opinions. They had borne this unmitigated outrage with unparalleled patience and magnanimity, and to a great extent had waived their right even to pray for the removal of the offensive "institution" from the common ground, the merely Legislative and Executive seat of the Republic. If Mr. Lincoln had been offended with slavery on the Mississippi and at New Orleans, it pierced nearer his heart now, and he had still greater reasons for hating it at every advance in his own life, as indeed had all its friends and enemies.

After the usual preliminary steps in the two Houses of Congress, on the 13th of February, 1861, at twenty minutes past twelve o'clock, the Senate proceeded to the Hall of the House, where Vice-President Breckinridge took his seat at the right of the Speaker of the House, and Congress now assembled in joint session for the purpose, the Vice-President presiding, went through the form of counting the electoral vote for President and Vice-President. There were at this election three hundred and three electoral votes, making one hundred and fifty-two necessary for a choice. When the tellers had tabu-

lated the result, as had been long well-known to the country, the Vice-President rose and said :—

“Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, having received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes, is elected President of the United States for four years, commencing the 4th of March, 1861. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, having received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes, is duly elected Vice-President of the United States for four years, commencing the 4th of March, 1861. The business for which the two Houses were assembled having been finished, the Senate will now return to its own Chamber.”

The 4th of March came at last. The morning broke out clear and beautiful, but this did not lift a weight of gloom from many an anxious breast in the fair Capital. No man could tell what the day would bring forth. The political sky was dark and treacherous. It had been said in earnest, or bravado, that Abraham Lincoln should never take the Chair of the Presidents, and the wires had whispered this evil threat in every magnified form all over the land.

Thousands of the friends of this unknown and untried man, and the principles for which he stood, had gathered in Washington to see what would come of the unexampled predictions. They were men who were determined to be present when the first test of their principles and their rights should come. And yet, for the preservation of the feelings of their enemies who looked on, they made no excessive demonstrations of joy or pride over their triumph. Never before in a Presidential contest had such momentous issues been involved, and it was not the

time now for extravagance and folly. Still, efforts to render the occasion impressive were not wanting; and an unusual thing was now apparent for these quadrennial ceremonies. This was the great number of soldiers stationed throughout the city, some even on the house-tops, and engaged in the proceedings on the streets. General Scott had charge of all these matters, and the old soldier conducted himself as if the occasion was worth all the care and anxiety of the General of the army.

Through the numerous little speeches of Mr. Lincoln on his journey to Washington there shone very clearly the outlines of his policy, but the anxiety to hear his inaugural was quite general, and hours before the time hundreds began to wend their way to the east side of the great Capitol. The procession and escort began to form early; and soon after eleven o'clock President Buchanan joined Mr. Lincoln at Willard's Hotel, and the march to the Capitol began. A compact body of soldiers surrounded the Presidential carriage. In comparative quiet the crowds along the avenue looked upon the uncommon pageant.

The Senate remained in session until midday, when Vice-President Breckinridge said a few farewell words, vacated the Chair, and seated in it his successor. The members of the Lower House and the diplomatic corps soon afterwards entered the Senate Chamber and were assigned seats. A few minutes before one o'clock the Supreme Judges filed in, bowing in the usual way to the new Vice-President, and took seats.

At quarter past one the Marshal-in-Chief entered, followed by the President leading the President-elect. A momentary halt was made, when the Marshal led the way to the east portico, followed by the Supreme Court, the Senate Sergeant-at-Arms, the Committee of Arrangements, the President and the President-elect, Senate Secretary, Senators, diplomatic corps, and others. Once on the platform, Senator Baker, of Oregon, brother-in-law of Mr. Lincoln, introduced him to the vast audience below, when, stepping forward, amidst a suppressed hurra from his friends, he drew himself up to his full height, placed a pair of steel-framed spectacles over his eyes, and proceeded to read, in a clear and effective manner, the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES,—In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that, by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institu-

tion of slavery in the States where it exists." I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this, and made many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the Platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:—

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming Administration.

I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:—

"No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law.

All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms

of this clause "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in the civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?"

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period, fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have in succession administered the Executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief Constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties.

A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not

expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of the Confederation, in 1778; and, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is prac-

licable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will Constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it is forced upon the national authority.

The power confided to me *will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government*, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security, which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons, in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them.

To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not

speaking, before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes? Would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step, while any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all Constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this.

Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; it certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case.

All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class, spring all our Constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the Government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case, will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will ruin and divide them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority.

For instance, why not any portion of a new Confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restraint by Constitutional check and limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a majority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism, in some form, is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that Constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to a very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the Court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them; and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we can not separate; we can not remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their Constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes

prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied Constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves, also, can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people. By the frame of the Government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no Administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it.

Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either.

If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you.

You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government; while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it.

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Mr. Lincoln having finished reading his address, turned to the Chief Justice, who greatly agitated, administered this oath: "I, Abraham Lincoln, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to

the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

From the platform, amidst the shouts of the crowd and the boom of cannon President Lincoln was escorted again through the Senate Chamber, and from thence directly to the White House, where Mr. Buchanan left him, well pleased that he had in a characteristically manly way gone through the ceremony of shifting to the shoulders of another a burden which had become much too heavy and irksome for him.

This remarkable inaugural address was soon read throughout the Nation, and in the Northern half was generally approved. The tone of it was new to the country. It recognized the fact that there was but one issue before the people, and dealt directly with that fact. No man could be deceived. It was not possible for language to be plainer; nor was it possible for it to be better, perhaps. The issue was made in 1854, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and Mr. Lincoln had then seen what it was, and soon believed that he saw the inevitable result. In 1858, he boldly struck at this issue, and it had since been his only theme, because it was, indeed, the only one before the country, and he was simple and true enough to speak directly of it as such. He had said in his journey to Washington that when the time came for him to speak, that is in the inaugural, as was the custom of the Presidents, the custom of the country, he would not be backward in doing so. He had spent months in the preparation of this brief

and simple address, and it contained what he believed it should justly, honorably, and patriotically contain, and not a single word more or less. He had thought fully up to the demands of the times, striving to reach and not avoid the true points in the state of public affairs.

No man looking at this address to-day, under all the circumstances in which it was uttered, could think, if he ever did do so, that Abraham Lincoln had in him any moral cowardice. Is not this address, indeed, one of the most splendid displays of moral force and courage to be found in the annals of our country? It gave courage to the drooping and wavering, and millions of earnest and well-meaning people thanked God that a man was now at the helm who was equal to the emergency; a man who was too plain and true to be an uncertain and shifting politician, and who was great enough to believe in the right towards all men, and set out at once to direct his own and the attention of the whole country toward the right. Ah! who can travel over these old issues, the dead past, without stopping and tarrying at this splendid performance to admire the sincere and manly performer?

If Mr. Lincoln had reached a point of personal grandeur in 1858 in throwing down for the first time the great general principle that "every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand," he now presented the first great moral spectacle in his career before the Nation. Here the

ambitious selfish man was lost in the patriot and the defender of the Republic. No boasts, no threats escape him. What Congress had just done towards reconciliation he was willing to make irrevocable forever. He reiterates the statement that the disaffected part of the country had nothing to fear from his Administration, and counseled reflection and the absence of haste. Intelligence, patriotism, and Christianity he thought still might be sufficient to adjust all difficulties. But if his hopes were disappointed he would not be the aggressor. The blood of the country would be upon others.

“You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath in Heaven to destroy the Government; while I shall have the most solemn one to ‘preserve, protect, and defend’ it.” These were brave and noble words. There was no reservation in his speech, and there was no reservation in his oath. The man stood out at once with both sides clean before the country; and without a doubt as to the ultimate result entered upon the difficult task assigned to him.

CHAPTER XXI.

ON THE EVE OF THE REBELLION—HOW MATTERS STOOD
ON THE FOURTH OF MARCH, 1861—A REVIEW—SLAV-
ERY—MR. LINCOLN'S ELECTION, ITS EVIL OR GOOD—
THE CONFLICT OF THE BRAVE—WHO SHALL WEAR
THE UNFADING LAUREL?

BEFORE the Presidential election in November, 1860, some progress had been made at least in "firing the Southern heart," and already Secretary Floyd had turned his attentions to supplying the arsenals located at the South with muskets deemed by him superfluous in Northern armories. Immediately following the election of Mr. Lincoln, South Carolina began the work of secession, so-called; United States Senators resigned, Government officials at Charleston quit their places, and on the 20th of December an "Ordinance of Secession" was actually passed in a convention called for that purpose. The Legislature of Georgia was called in extra session two days after the election of President, and on the 18th of November that body appropriated a million of dollars to arm the State. On the 19th of January Georgia passed an "Ordinance of Secession." Towards the last of November the Legislature of Florida assembled under a strong recommendation to secede, and on the 10th of January passed an ordinance to

that effect. One day before, Mississippi had taken the same step in convention.

On the 9th of January, 1861, the *Star of the West* entered Charleston Harbor with re-enforcements and provisions for Fort Sumter, and was repeatedly fired upon by order of the rebel leaders, from a battery erected on Morris Island. The vessel had not only entered the harbor with her flag flying, but also, during the firing, had run up a large extra national flag. Seeing the attempt of three vessels to cut her off, the *Star of the West* withdrew, without accomplishing her purpose, and returned to New York. Thus did South Carolina inaugurate the great War of the Rebellion, an act in which she was supported by most of the Southern States.

On the 14th of the same month the Legislature of South Carolina passed an act asserting that any attempt on the part of this Government to re-enforce Fort Sumter would be considered a declaration of war against that State. In the meantime Alabama and Louisiana had passed secession acts, and Texas had declared herself out of the Union.

During this time the Southern leaders did not neglect their material interests. Late in December Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, and the arsenal at Charleston had fallen into their hands. And in quick succession after these steps had been taken in South Carolina, other States followed suit, until all the forts and arsenals in the South belonging to the General Government had been taken possession of by rebel troops, under orders from the leaders; also all the

other Government property, military supplies, and arms of every description, as well as the Mint at New Orleans, with over half a million of dollars in gold and silver. A great portion of this property, as well as many vessels of various kinds, was abandoned to the Rebellion by the treachery of the officers in command. Insult, robbery, mutiny, and rebellion were rife in the South everywhere. The army and the navy were no exceptions to the general spirit. When a captain of a vessel at New Orleans was ordered to take his command to New York, he replied :—

“Your letter, with one of the 19th of January from the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, I have duly received, and, in reply, I refuse to obey the order.

“I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“JOHN G. BRESHWOOD, Captain.”

This brought the following dispatch from the Secretary of the Treasury, containing the celebrated command, which a few months later became a rallying cry throughout the loyal section :—

“TREASURY DEPARTMENT, January 29, 1861.

“W. HEMPHILL JONES, New Orleans :—

“Tell Lieutenant Caldwell to arrest Captain Breshwood, assume command of the cutter, and obey the order through you.

“If Captain Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieutenant Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer, and treat him accordingly. *If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.*

“JOHN A. DIX, Secretary of the Treasury.”

On the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from the States which were said to have seceded met at Montgomery, Alabama, to organize a form of government. A few days afterwards Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens were chosen President and Vice-President of "The Confederate States of America." On the 18th Mr. Davis was installed at the head of this Rebellion, and was shortly afterwards elected for the regular term provided in the constitution.

These seven seceded States had a population of about two millions and a half of whites and only two or three hundred thousand less slaves. Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, and the District of Columbia, the Slave States not yet "seceded," and hence not represented officially in this convention, contained a population of about five million and three-quarters of free persons, mostly whites, and a million and three-quarters of slaves. At this juncture these States were unfavorable to secession, although their governors and leading men, to a great extent, were in sympathy with the Montgomery cause, and all of them were opposed to the Government using any effective means or force to check or stop the work of rebellion.

On the 8th of February the convention at Montgomery adopted what was termed a provisional constitution for the "Confederate States of America." and on the next day unanimously elected Jefferson Davis to be President and Alexander H. Stephens to be Vice-President. Nine days after his election

(February 18th) Mr. Davis was installed as chief of the Rebellion, and, after no little difficulty, fixed upon his Cabinet as follows: Robert Toombs, Secretary of State; C. G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury; L. P. Walker, Secretary of War; Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy; Judah P. Benjamin, Attorney-General; John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General.

This was a fairly strong body of men for the Cotton States, although it was not just as Mr. Davis would have chosen, if there had not appeared the usual greed for office which has always been inseparable from all American affairs. This business settled, Mr. Davis immediately turned his attention to the military organization, under the apprehension that the work of disunion might not be wholly peaceable.

What was called the "Inaugural Address of President Davis" is a mild sort of document, treating secession as a matter of course, and wholly constructed on the long-cherished errors of the slavery leaders, and which were shorn by the war of every semblance of respectability they were ever fancied to possess.

On the 11th of March, 1861, the rebels in congress, at Montgomery, adopted a permanent constitution. This document, to a great extent, copies the order and language of the Constitution of the United States, the greatest changes being those conforming to the latter-day Southern ideas of slavery.

Shortly after the inauguration of this rebel government, Alexander H. Stephens, in a speech at Savannah, said of the changes in the Constitution of the

United States, which was merely taken as a convenient and good model:—

“In enumerating the numerous changes for the better, allow me to allude to one other, though last, not least. The new constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution, African slavery as it exists among us, and the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and the present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the rock on which the old Union would split. . . . The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent, and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at that time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last; and hence no argument can justly be used against the Constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of the races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation; and the idea of a government built upon it—when the storm came and the wind blew, it fell.

“Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior

race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. . . .

“I recollect once of having heard (of hearing) a gentleman from one of the Northern States, of great power and ability, announce in the House of Representatives, with imposing effect, that we of the South would be compelled, ultimately, to yield upon this subject of slavery; that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics as it was in physics or mechanics; that the principle would ultimately prevail; that we, in maintaining slavery as it now exists with us, were warring against a principle, a principle founded in nature, the principle of the equality of man. The reply I made to him was, that upon his own grounds we should succeed; that he and his associates in their crusade against our institutions would ultimately fail. The truth announced, that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics as in physics and mechanics, I admitted; but told him it was he and those acting with him who were warring against a principle. They were attempting to make things equal which the Creator had made unequal.

“In the conflict thus far, success has been on our side complete, throughout the length and breadth of the Confederate States. It is upon this, as I have stated, our social fabric is firmly planted; and I can not permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.”

In the “Introduction” to his “Rise and Fall,” Jefferson Davis says: “I take the position that those who resisted violations of the compact were

the true friends, and those who maintained the usurpation of undelegated powers were the real enemies of the Constitutional Union."

It was a favorite piece of sophistry or insincerity practiced by these men at the outset to hold up the idea that those engaged in the Rebellion were the true friends of the Union; but that such a thing should be argued and supported after the whole cause of the Rebellion and all the ideas and schemes upon which it was undertaken were exploded, and the progress of time and events had proven them without true foundation, and utterly beyond the least hope of future life or even historic respectability, is not within the scope of sane accountability. The delusion and hope of gaining prestige by the claim that these seven rebellious States were the true representatives and perpetuators of the "more perfect Union" of the Constitution were politic at least in the beginning, but an argument so based at this day lays its author liable to several undesirable imputations, and condemns the cause in advance. Even when hunting a name for the "new government" whose corner-stone was not to be that of the United States, this question of identity with the Union was of great moment. One member of the Montgomery convention especially distinguished himself by contending for the name, "The Republic of Washington." What was there in the Rebellion, or whatever could have been in the "Confederate Government" to connect it with the name of Washington, or render it aught but a shame and slander upon his memory?

Folly and wrong only lead on to and extend themselves. With all the attempts to show that they were the friends of the "Constitutional" Union, and they were not aiming to destroy the Union, the actions of the leaders and their friends did not correspond with their pretentious diplomatic words.

Still, with most of the leaders and the mass of their followers, there was no contradiction between their words and their deeds. Nor, indeed, was there in the course, conduct, and spirit of the Rebellion from first to last. Although the constitution adopted was identical, in some respects, with, and to a great extent founded upon, the Constitution of the Government they were attempting to destroy, yet this circumstance argued neither respect for the Union nor lingering attachment for the Constitution. Its use as a model was a mere convenience, and the laws continued in effect were those suitable to their own wants. It was a radical disunion which was aimed at, and nothing which had been was of any importance when standing in the way of this purpose. In fact, the greatest desire was everywhere apparent among the rebels to be rid of everything which reminded them of the hateful Union.

Even in devising a flag a general disposition was shown to cut away all memory of a connection with the "Stars and Stripes." On this point an extravagant and enthusiastic South Carolinian said that to him the Flag of the Union had always from his youth up been the emblem of tyranny, oppression, and wrong; and yet what South Carolinian was ever

oppressed by that flag, or ever suffered himself to be? General Jackson did, perhaps, contemplate hanging John C. Calhoun for treason. Mr. Stephens, who had not ranked with the class termed "Fire-eaters," now became the champion defender of "our new government," which had for its foundation a principle before unknown and unacknowledged in the world, African slavery, or "subordination to the superior race." Into this "new government" the States of the Union tolerating slavery and viewing that "institution" in the true modern sense of the South, should eventually come; but a connection with the Free States would neither be desirable nor possible, and if any of them did get into this "new government" it would be after a long period of vastation and assimilation. The new idea and its new order of civilization should first be embraced and thoroughly worked into the whole mass. At all events, in no sense was this new government to be the former Union. Its one idea, its "corner-stone," as Mr. Stephens calls it, its new civilization, and new interpretation of Christian philosophy, were to make it dissimilar in whole and forever. The Union had ceased to exist, the Government of the United States was broken to pieces. If the North labored under a hallucination as to this fact, the people of the "new government" had nothing to do with that.

What else than a rebellion could this Southern secession be? What else must history forever consider it? What else was it proven to be in its utter overthrow? Where now are the prophecies of its

prophets, its theories, its Heaven-ordered civilization? Mr. Jefferson Davis, whose childish weakness and utter drivel should, perhaps, entitle him more to pity than contempt, under the fact of the great load he must forever carry down the current of human history, says on page 229 of volume first of his strangely erroneous work bearing the misleading but grandiloquent title, "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government:" "When, in after times, the passions of the day shall have subsided, and all the evidence shall have been collected and compared, the philosophical inquirer, who asks why the majority of the stronger section invaded the peaceful homes of their late associates, will be answered by history, 'The lust of empire impelled them to wage against their weaker neighbors a war of subjugation.'"

On the margin of the page opposite this amazing statement, in the copy of Mr. Davis's work which I am using there is written in ink by some previous reader this comment: "This is infamous." While this brief commentary would, perhaps, satisfy the great mass of intelligent men not only as to this passage, but also a very large part of Mr. Davis's autobiographical work, it stands to me, as does the whole performance, more in a ridiculous than an infamous light. This poor old man, full of chagrin and sadness, more under the control of error and fantasy than at any period of his life, is trying in utter weakness to make a plea for himself and his "lost cause." The attempt merits, perhaps, only what it will get in all time, ridicule and neglect.

The defenders of the Union fought only for its integrity, for its perpetuity. It was not an empire they wished to preserve to the world, but the unspeakable blessings of a liberal, generous, enlightened, progressive, free, beneficent, and powerful Government, the heritage of all the races of mankind the world over, as well as of its stout-hearted and patriotic defenders. Has not history already written this verdict? Beyond a few of the fossil-like followers of Mr. Jefferson Davis, is not the sentiment of the whole world now unanimous on this point as to the righteousness, unselfishness, and hence ultimate good, of the cause of the defenders and perpetuators of the Federal Union? Where on earth to-day are the mourners for the lost, would-have-been slave confederacy, if there be left out of the count Jefferson Davis, and a few hundred manly followers, and a very large mass of pretty, idle, indolent, worthless, and proud Southern women?

While all these treasonable proceedings were taking place in the South, the people of the North were talking of compromise and reconciliation. Those States which had "personal liberty bills" on their statute books were overhauling them and asking their repeal, and the so-called business men of the country were clamorous for any concession to peace which the South would ask; and many of them had already hastened to bow down to the new doctrine that "the negro, by nature and by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for the condition he occupies in our system."

One of the most strange and eternally reprehend-

sible, as well as utterly foolish and unstatesman-like, acts committed in the North at this time was the recommending of the secession of the city of New York, and the establishment of an independent government, by its mayor, Fernando Wood.

As a part of the history of the treasonable spirit of the times, and for the purpose of showing that the South did not by any means harbor all the rebels of the day, the following extract is given from Mr. Wood's letter to the Council of New York:—

“Much, no doubt, can be said in favor of the justice and policy of separation. It may be said that secession or revolution in any of the United States would be subversive of all Federal authority, and, so far as the Central Government is concerned, the resolving of the community into its original elements; that, if part of the States form new combinations and governments, other States may do the same. California and her sisters of the Pacific will, no doubt, set up an independent republic and husband their own rich mineral resources. The Western States, equally rich in cereals and other agricultural products, will probably do the same. Then, it may be said, why should not New York City, instead of supporting by her contributions in revenue two-thirds of the expenses of the United States, become also equally independent? As a free city, with but nominal duty on imports, her local government could be supported without taxation upon her people. Thus we could live free from taxes, and have cheap goods nearly duty free. In this she would have the whole and united support of the Southern States, as well as all the other States to whose interests and rights under the Constitution she has always been true.

“It is well for individuals or communities to look every danger square in the face, and to meet it calmly

and bravely. As dreadful as the severing of the bonds that have hitherto united the States has been in contemplation, it is now apparently a stern and inevitable fact. We have now to meet it with all the consequences, whatever they may be. If the confederacy is broken up, the Government is dissolved, and it behooves every distinct community, as well as every individual, to take care of themselves.

“When disunion has become a fixed and certain fact, why may not New York disrupt the bands which bind her to a venal and corrupt master; to a people and a party that have plundered her revenues, attempted to ruin her commerce, taken away the power of self-government, and destroyed the confederacy of which she was the proud Empire City? Amid the gloom which the present and prospective condition of things must cast over the country, New York, as a *Free City*, may shed the only light and hope of a future reconstruction of our once blessed confederacy.

“But I am not prepared to recommend the violence implied in these views. In stating this argument in favor of freedom, ‘peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must,’ let me not be misunderstood. The redress can be found only in appeals to the magnanimity of the people of the whole State. The events of the past two months have no doubt effected a change in the popular sentiment of the State and national politics. This change may bring us the desired relief, and we may be able to obtain a repeal of the law to which I have referred, and a consequent restoration of our corporate rights.

“FERNANDO WOOD, Mayor.

“January 6, 1861.”

In his address, in taking the head of the Rebellion, Jefferson Davis said:—

“With a constitution differing only from that of our fathers, in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known

intent, freed from the sectional conflicts which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that States from which we have recently parted may seek to unite their fortunes with ours under the government which we have instituted. For this, your constitution makes adequate provision; but beyond this, if I mistake not the judgment and will of the people, a reunion with the States from which we have separated is neither practicable nor desirable."

But in many other ways were the Northern people made aware of the fact that a union with them would not be agreeable to these rebel chiefs, who claimed for themselves and their proposed government a grade and character of civilization which could not be otherwise than peculiar to themselves.

When New York proposed to ratify the Constitution and become a part of the "more perfect union" in 1787, on condition that certain amendments be made to the Constitution, and reserving the right to withdraw if they were not made, Alexander Hamilton drew from Mr. Madison this view in a letter on the subject:—

"My opinion is, that a reservation of a right to withdraw, if amendments be not decided on under the form of the Constitution within a certain time, is a conditional ratification; that it does not make New York a member of the new Union, and, consequently, that she could not be received on that plan. Compacts must be reciprocal; this principle would not, in such a case, be preserved. The Constitution requires an adoption *in toto*, and forever. It has been so adopted by the other States. An adoption for a limited time would be as defective as an adoption of some of the articles only. The idea of reserving a

right to withdraw was started at Richmond, and considered as a conditional ratification, which was itself abandoned as worse than a rejection."

On this subject there is, perhaps, no higher authority among men. That it was understood at the outset that the Union was to be perpetual, and that no State had the power to break it or withdraw from it, can not be doubted.

This was the sole cause of the hesitancy on the part of many States in ratifying the Constitution, and this led some of them to ask amendments, and others to try to provide for escape. Even the fatal preamble in the Constitutional Convention of Virginia only asserted that the powers granted the General Government were from the people, and might, on an emergency, be taken back by the people of the United States. But for all this, as Mr. Madison says, when Virginia came to adopt the Constitution, it was done without condition and made binding upon her. And this binding was believed and understood to be forever. South Carolina only, felt restless under this restraint. And, perhaps, some of the Federalists of New England were foolish enough to think of secession in 1803, and during the War of 1812. In 1832, only South Carolina rejected the opinions of General Jackson on the rights of a State to withdraw from the Union. He was wise enough to know that the tariff was a mere pretext; that slavery would be the next pretext, and that the object was a slave confederacy. General Jackson regarded the conduct of Mr. Calhoun as treason, and if he had been allowed to take his

own course he would have hanged Calhoun, as an example to the school he was gathering around him. How such an event would have changed the future history of the country, it may not be easy to say. That it would have prevented the Rebellion of 1861 is not very probable.

Under the Confederation, and the old Continental Congress, appeals were made to the States—to the State governments—and not to the people. That was a system of relationship between the Congress and the States, and the radical evils of the system drove the people to form a “more perfect Union,” which should be perpetual. In this the principle of the old relationships was dropped, and the people of all the States were made directly responsible to the General Government. Every citizen and inhabitant could be reached without the intervention of State authorities. Under this new Government, with this strong national and consolidated feature, the Constitution applied to every citizen, and the highest officers of the States were required alike, with others, to take an oath of obedience and faithfulness to the Supreme Government. On this fact arose the trifling discussions as to coercing a State. It was an unnecessary play upon a word. To talk of coercing a territory or boundary of land, or even a State government, was folly. But the term *State* meant, as well, the people collectively and individually, and to coerce the evil and treasonable in a State was to coerce the State. And in fearful and momentous times it was worse than shallow play to try to raise up a distinction between

the State and the citizens of the State—a distinction which did not exist in the use of the term, except with political quibblers, in dealing with the great fact then staring in the face of every man.

The term “sovereignty” has also been greatly abused. Even in the Republic there must be but one sovereign, strictly speaking. The attributes of sovereignty are as well defined in the republican as they are in the kingly forms of government. A State has jurisdiction, under the Constitution, over certain things, and that far it has sovereignty. A school board, a medical college, or a police court, is also sovereign in a certain capacity, and no less so than a State. But the appropriation of the word to all these purposes is trifling and untrue. None of the things belonging to a State even are signs of sovereignty. To declare war; to make peace; to fix and collect revenue; to regulate commerce; to prepare for defense; to coin money and decide on its value; to establish post-offices; to grant letters of marque; to maintain an army and navy; to treat and form alliances with other nations; to legislate for the common good, and other such powers, are the attributes of sovereignty, and these the States never had, but the General Government has possessed them, undisputed, always. The sovereignty of the States, like the right of secession, has never been anything but political charlatanry, and Mr. Calhoun, who did more than any other man to extend and fix it upon this country, was an impracticable, unwise, aspiring, selfish, and peace-disturbing, mischief-making politician. The men

and parties who pursued his errors on these far-reaching points have always been wrong. The whole system of poor philosophy on which the Rebellion of slavery rested was utterly false; and the writings of all that school of men are worthless to-day, and will remain so forever, only so far as they serve as examples of the errors and evils of the times. They rank more as curiosities and legends of an age of erroneous issues and infatuations long since dead—forever dead. Among these are the writings of Mr. Calhoun and the more recent works of Alexander H. Stephens and Jefferson Davis.

That slavery was incompatible with the continued existence or perpetuity of free government was not, perhaps, a generally thought of, or acknowledged fact among the early settlers of this country and the founders of this Republic. Little by little this fact dawned upon the minds of the true, intelligent men of the whole country. There was nothing sectional in this feeling, and it was hoped in the inauguration of the Government that in time some way would be provided for this matter, which even the thoughts of men approached with timidity. Although there was little diversity in the practices, feelings, or views of men on this subject at the time of the formation of the Federal Union, it was clear enough that slavery was destined to follow the South, although climate did not, perhaps, point to this conclusion so certainly as did other things.

A great part of the slaveholding of the South was not so much a matter of choice as of accident.

In this sense were many of the first and best men of the South slaveholders; and various circumstances led them to give to slavery a sort of passive, sluggish acquiescence. The declaration that "all men are created equal" is a striking instance of the silent timidity with which the "Fathers" approached the subject. There was no question as to the negro being a man. Nor was there a question of the incongruity of this declaration in the face of the fact that he was a slave; or of advocating a free government and fighting for liberty while a class within it should not taste of freedom.

It was scarcely violating the principle of freedom to snatch a race from cannibalism and place it by the side of an expanding Christian civilization, even if it could do no more than absorb silently from the higher state. But these savages absorbed fast. They were good imitators. They became enlightened and civilized rapidly, to a great extent of themselves, and as they did so they demonstrated two things in the face of all theories, speculations, and wishes as to themselves and their destiny; these were, that they were susceptible of indefinite improvement in all those things which characterized the most enlightened and civilized conditions of life; and that, consequently, they were not beings to be held in everlasting slavery. These facts could not be concealed from them and the world. With these two things in view no power in man, nor above him, perhaps, could suppress the growing sentiment against this slavery in America.

As the progress of the negro became more apparent, two things occurred: his value increased and the owners became watchful, determined, and avaricious; and the wrong in slavery became more apparent, and the opposition to it more deep-seated and invincible. That a creature should be held in slavery who was daily demonstrating his capacity for freedom, and that while not only unaided but held and crushed under every possible restraint, was a thing not to be looked upon with indifference by the world. Was such a thing justly and calmly to be expected? Had all the homes of the slaves been without care, free from abuse, and calm and quiet as most of them were, the case would not have been materially different. All these things, all other goods, would not weigh in the balance against freedom, even had it been no more than a name. To the white race, to the slave-owner, this state of affairs appeared a misfortune, and was so pecuniarily, but it was unavoidable. The South had become wealthy by slavery, but she was destined to become poor by it. It had always been a misfortune to her, and in its overthrow she was destined to suffer for what she had inherited with all the country, and for which she was not originally responsible, out of all proportion to the pecuniary benefits received from slavery.

The South gave an importance to Abolitionism from the outset which it did not deserve, and never received in the North. Even to-day there remains about the name in the North a certain indefinable repulsiveness which long, heated partisan contest

gave it. Its ways were not the ways of the great majority of the people, who even amidst the clash of arms were barely willing to see that come to pass by violence which they really desired and hoped time would bring in a manner more peaceful and less calamitous. But the early importance the South put upon Abolitionism and other inevitable features of the case, gave rise to the one plan which appeared to be the only escape; that is, the establishment of a separate government, which should at least have no scruples about slavery if it should not constitute the corner-stone. This sentiment was not of momentary origin, it was the growth of a generation. Although this plan was unwise and impossible, besides being founded on wrong political principles, for years the greatest hindrance to its more rapid development was the discipline and restraint of the party which was, in the North, most tolerant of its views and most friendly to slavery.

From 1828 the main features in the management of this party were unqualified devotion, obedience to leaders, unwavering hostility to opponents, individual aggrandizement, and spoils for the whole party. These things soon became the apparent motive forces of all parties, and have so remained. Through this subserviency slavery was propped by the hope and belief that the party would overcome what the institution could not.

Aside from the extreme and violent views and designs of Abolitionists as to slavery, certain other things put them at a deserved disadvantage with the

masses of the people. Many of the leaders and, perhaps, most of the earlier followers, were opposed to the idea of a divinely given code of morals, and were immodest and loud in their assaults upon the religion of Revelation, the only religion held as worthy of consideration by those who, all over the civilized world, believed that to be the only way to justice, truth, and right-living.

One of the things brought by the negro from Africa was tyranny, despotism. What he knew of government and life was of a severe and despotic character. He knew that where slavery was there must be hardness and tyranny. His own nature and habits fed the spirit of unyielding despotism in his owner, or as Alexander H. Stephens delighted to say, in the "master race." This spirit became apparent everywhere in national affairs. What was not brooked in word or movement at home could not be tolerated abroad; and thus the slaveholder became not only quick, intolerant, and vengeful and exacting in politics and among men, but also wherever he felt that his will was held at bay, he fell upon his last expedient, of cutting loose from these annoyances. This and some other things lay far towards the root of the evil of slavery to the white race, and the origin of the fatal errors of secession.

Thousands of men in the South did not believe that the mere election of Mr. Lincoln furnished an apology for the immediate action of that section. Still his election was a convenient, though false, pretext, and the small and irresponsible agitators and

the leaders used it with every possible advantage. A man at the head of the Government with opinions so repugnant to the feelings and designs of the South could not be tolerated. That he was to be placed there certainly indicated, they held, that nothing more could be done, that the day of compromise was past, and impossible and undesirable; that it left but one way to the South, and that she was taking.

There had arisen in the South a demand for the revival of the African slave-trade; slavery had become exceedingly aggressive, but it had failed in the non-intervention policy of 1854, and the election of Mr. Lincoln seemed to check suddenly all its schemes and dreams. His election was the signal to end the Republic. Mr. Buchanan was to be the last of the Presidents of the United States. The South conducted itself as master, and the North appeared to bend to its imperious will. Strictly speaking, Mr. Lincoln was the first President the North, or in other words, that freedom, had ever elected. Before, slavery had had them all, or they had been subservient to it. And yet the North and freedom had never revolted. They had given a little here, and a little there; they had conciliated and loyally awaited the progress of events. But at their first success the imperious South had raised the standard of rebellion.

The South held to the doctrine of the normal and divine position of the races, and with her was true progress. The election of Mr. Lincoln was the end to this, so it was argued. But how utterly false or hollow all

this pretense was, few are so blind as not to see to-day. And it may not be difficult for most to see, too, that if the election of Mr. Lincoln was not the salvation of the Nation, it was the beginning of a new era; one in which the hand of slavery blights and restrains none of the aspirations of progress; one in which freedom rules. The past was, indeed, ended more effectually than the wisest were able to see; but a wide door to the future was opened. One-half of the Nation had been for forty years pulling backward. Timidity in the other half had given the weight of Administrations to the pulling-back side. The world had expected more of America than it was likely to realize. It had been first in abandoning the foreign trade in slaves, and was the first to declare that trade piracy. Now, no inconsiderable clamor arose for the revival and legalization of this crime. The old claims to republican simplicity grated harshly on the outside world; and the election of Mr. Lincoln again turned the tide of affairs toward the primitive principles and better instincts of the Republic. A conflict was inevitable, but it was necessary. How it had grown in the course of years to be inevitable has been fully shown in the progress of this work. And while it was a conflict for life on the part of the Government, it was also the last struggle between freedom and slavery. Slavery failing to rule the Nation, rebelled and brought its own downfall. Its efforts at propagandism had made it more odious, and its inconsistency in a Government founded with great applause on the declaration of

human equality and a Constitution with a world-wide reputation, became more apparent. And the world had a right to demand more of America, and denounce its short-comings. It rightly felt and said that what might be looked upon with some tolerance in most other parts of the earth would be simply scandalous in the United States.

The Southern leaders founded their course upon a utopian principle, a principle that never did exist; and the result showed that it never could. The Fathers had not entertained it, or had abandoned it if they had; nor had the world ever sanctioned it anywhere in its history. It was that a State, forming a part of a league, confederacy, or nation, or government, could withdraw at its pleasure. The theory on which the South proceeded was inconsistent with the judgment and practices of the world; inconsistent with the spirit and purposes of the organizers of the United States Government; unconstitutional, and contrary to the expectations, just demands, and best interests of itself, of the whole country, and of the world. Had not the times ripened for the conflict when the orderly and regular election of a President was considered just and sufficient ground for secession?

To this point, at least, the history of the Democratic party is intimately blended with that of slavery and its political evils. Slavery was for a quarter of a century its main prop, its fulcrum. When other parties that, like it, to some extent, courted this power, went down, it held more firmly to what it

hoped and believed would give it a perpetual lease on the administration of affairs. But when the last moment came in the conventions of 1860, enough of it stood above the ignoble test presented by the South to rend the party and pass public affairs into the hands of the new, untried organization toward which the eager attention and sympathy of the world were directed.

And here, now, were about to engage in a great war, the extent of which no one was able to guess, two parts of a great Nation; not in a conflict between States, but on one side an avowed and determined purpose to overthrow or break into fragments the old Government, and out of a certain part of it to form a new one; and on the other side stood the Government, with all the power it could command, in duty bound to exert it for its own preservation and for the good of the whole. A Rebellion simply, and being founded on slavery, it arrayed the free against the slave sections mainly, and was a test of their relative capabilities and strength. While the Government prevailed and the weaker fell, odious comparisons died in the struggle. Two halves of a brave people had met in a deadly contest, and it would be a difficult and uncertain task to tell where lay most of the skill and prowess.

The greatest achievement of the nineteenth century was the overthrow of slavery in the United States. So, I think, the history of the world will record; and so, too, if the world is called upon to decide between the contestants, it would be easy to

tell who would be adjudged the more worthy and patriotic; and if an unfading laurel is woven by mankind for one among all the brave and true, it will be placed without hesitancy upon the brow of him who stood so earnestly and nobly at the head of the National Authority, the representative of all the loyal people, and whose own life went out in the last dark tragedy of the great conflict.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION—FROM THE FOURTH OF
MARCH TO THE FALL OF SUMTER—THE GREAT
ISSUE—SEE THE ARGUMENT—A REVIEW.

ALTHOUGH the inaugural address of Mr. Lincoln was generally received with favor throughout the North, there were not a few who found fault with it, and prominent among the fault-finders were Horace Greeley and Henry Wilson. Mr. Greeley said its tone was deprecatory and apologetic, and that it was constructed under the impression that the South needed to be better informed as to the intentions of the Republican Administration, and the rule of reason and peace would be restored. While the hopes of Mr. Lincoln and the greater part of the Northern people were directed towards the chances of a speedy return of the former relations and quiet of the country, their fears were as strongly aroused as to the probabilities of a different result. Mr. Seward said that in sixty days there would be a better feeling; and the position the new President was supposed to occupy, as the head of a new party, and the general disposition of the country for a peaceful termination of the difficulties, rendered the course Mr. Lincoln saw fit to take in his inaugural the most wise, as has already been said. Men were

groping at best, and Mr. Lincoln's critics did not go unscathed. After saying that there had been few such thrilling and solemn inaugurations here below, Comte de Gasparin breaks out with these words:—

“Ah, courage, Lincoln! the friends of freedom and of America are with you. Courage! you hold in your hands the destinies of a great principle and a great people. Courage! You have to resist your friends and to face your foes; it is the fate of all who seek to do good on earth. Courage! You will have need of it to-morrow, in a year, to the end; you will have need of it in peace and in war; you will have need of it to avert the compromise in peace or war of that noble progress which it is your charge to accomplish, more than in conquests of slavery. Courage! your *rôle*, as you have said, may be inferior to no other, not even to that of Washington; to raise up the United States will not be less glorious than to have founded them.”

On the day after the inauguration, President Lincoln sent to the Senate the names of his Cabinet ministers as follows: William H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General.

As perfect unanimity would be impossible about anything, of course Mr. Lincoln did not expect his Cabinet would escape, even among his friends. As has been shown, great opposition was made to the

appointment of Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Lincoln regretted the necessity which forced him to take Cameron into his Cabinet; and even as to Mr. Smith he was not himself satisfied. The appointment of Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who had distinguished himself in the last days of Mr. Buchanan's Administration, as Secretary of War, would have been hailed with satisfaction by the loyal men of the country. Still the Cabinet was a strong one, and with one or two exceptions, which time remedied, was well and admirably adapted to the vast task before it. This fact became quite apparent as events progressed.

On the 11th of January, 1862, Edwin M. Stanton, of Ohio, a War Democrat, who had revived the drooping courage of President Buchanan, and aided very materially in giving the semblance of strength to his Administration in its last days, took the place of Mr. Cameron in the War Department; a year later, January 8, 1863, John P. Usher, of Indiana, succeeded Secretary Smith; and on the 5th of July, 1864, William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, became the successor of Mr. Chase. Thus organized, the Cabinet remained unchanged till after the death of President Lincoln.

John William Draper, in the first volume of his history of the Rebellion, says of Edwin M. Stanton:—

“His first office was that of Attorney-General. In the subsequent Administration of Mr. Lincoln he rose to a position of supreme responsibility. He stood forth what his country in her hour of darkness and extremity sorely needed, a great war minister. In the annals of England, our ancestral country, there is no counterpart to this man; in the annals of France there is but one.”

Yet no man who ever filled the War office was more thoroughly hated than Edwin M. Stanton by the enemies of the Government. Even yet many of his former party associates, and especially the "sympathizers" in the North, by way of emphasis called "copperheads," hate his very name. To evil doers and thinkers during the War of the Rebellion his name was a synonym for injustice and cruelty. But to those of his countrymen who were sincerely friendly to the Government, or who had no conditions to their patriotism, and in the history of the United States, whether written by a fair-minded American or a European, he must stand pre-eminently at the head of the list of War Secretaries. Mr. Stanton was peculiarly fitted for the office, and the great national struggle brought out no more able and admirable character. In the financial and State departments of the Government, the Administration and the country were also especially fortunate. And, indeed, this may be said of most of the other departments, as will sufficiently appear in the course of this brief history of the Rebellion.

As Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address was looked upon as evil and mischievous by the rebels and their sympathizers in the North, so his next step, in the appointment of his Cabinet, served to confirm them in their views of his bad intentions. Of the Cabinet, "The Pennsylvanian," published in Philadelphia, said:—

"Mr. Lincoln stands to-day where he stood on the 6th of November last, on the Chicago Platform. He has not

receded a single hair's-breadth. He has appointed a Cabinet in which there is no slaveholder, a thing which has never before happened since the formation of the Government; and in which there are but two nominally Southern men, and both bitter Black Republicans of the radical dye. Let the border States ignominiously submit to the Abolition rule of this Lincoln Administration, if they like; but don't let the miserable submissionists pretend to be deceived. Make any base or cowardly excuse but this."

The inaugural address was, indeed, plain enough, and the South had no grounds for the cry of ambiguity or deception. In the face of this positive assertion from the legally chosen head of the Government, at the very outset, that the "Union of these States is perpetual," and that to the extent of his ability he would execute the laws in all the States, the leaders of the rebellious movement kept on their way. They had not waited for the inauguration of the new Administration for an "overt act." They had acted with expedition and energy while no obstructions were thrown in their way, and many of them believed or hoped that the inactive course of President Buchanan had enabled them to place themselves beyond danger. Even Franklin Pierce had said that, if there should be war, it would not be confined to the contending armies, on Southern soil; it would be waged by friends, brothers, neighbors, in the North. This sentiment had substantially been uttered in various forms all over the Free North, and the rebel leaders had some ground for staking something on its truth. On the supposed strength of this sentiment, their assumptions were wild and

monstrous. The constitution they had devised was not only praised, but actually adopted even in its slavery features by no inconsiderable number of Northern men, among whom were Rodman M. Price, subsequently Democratic Governor of New Jersey, and Horatio Seymour, subsequently Democratic candidate for President. S. F. B. Morse, the famous telegraph man, beclouded his reputation forever by standing at the head of a society "For Promoting National Unity," organized in New York City. This society adopted the slavery features of the rebel constitution, and with the utmost stupidity fell into the supposed Bible defense of slavery the world over. I have only mentioned the existence of this organization for the opportunity to say how utterly foolish and detestable, even now, to me seem the judgment, intelligence, and heart of the men who belonged to it.

But on every hand there was heard the cry of concession. Concession to what? Slavery. This everybody knew was the way to the Southern heart, and was the heart and soul of all the difficulties. Men in high places and low places, and in every calling, gave their attention to this theme. Leading Northern newspapers, of the Democratic school, recommended the restoration of the Union on the ground of accepting the slavery creed of the rebel constitution. Even in the Senate of the United States, stripped mainly of its Slave-State members, and remaining in session until the 28th of March, twenty-four days after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, the

Rebellion received no little aid and comfort. The Democratic Senators, now in the minority, were asking for the policy of the Administration. Was it to be coercion, or giving up to all the demands of slavery? Was it to be war or peace? Even Mr. Douglas was yet for peace at any sacrifice; and Jefferson Davis, in his "Rise and Fall," makes him authority for the course the South was pursuing, and especially for the theory that the Government was the aggressor, and was responsible for the inauguration of the war by persistently holding on to the military forts and property on the Slave-State coasts.

While Mr. Douglas and his friends, and other wrong-minded and timid people were thus throwing all possible obstacles in the way of the Administration, they were also aiding the Rebellion and strengthening the hands of its leaders. They were fostering hopes at the South which were never to be realized, and giving a certain moral character to the Rebellion at home and abroad. These men were all enemies of the country and the race. Events have proven this to be true, and so they must go down in the history of all time. It is easy to say that they were mistaken, but this does not remove the fact; nor can charity, however lamb-like, cover it from sight or shield it from the judgment and light of time. Progress has no charity. The "robe of charity" is of doubtful character. Even pity may be akin to evil. Still, it is said:—

"There is some soul of goodness in things evil;
Would men observingly distill it out;

For our bad neighbor makes us early stirrers,
Which is both healthful, and good husbandry;
Besides, they are our outward consciences,
And preachers to us all; admonishing
That we should dress us fairly for one end.
Thus may we gather honey from the weed,
And make a moral of the devil himself."

Accomplished and accepted events in the life of a nation or of the world put to shame the failures of the past, and remove the coverings of falsity and chicanery. To-day the great conflict for the perpetuity of slavery is a one-sided matter. How can an argument be made for a stupendous failure, when all subsequent history and progress demonstrate beyond a doubt in the minds of all classes of intelligent people, that the failure, that the cause itself, was based upon conditions false and at utter variance with the best interests of the human race?

Speaking in common terms, there was nothing but evil connected with the Rebellion. It was a crime from first to last. There was no foundation for secession in the plan of the Union. There was no secession. There was no "Southern Confederacy." These things were mere pretenses. They were attempts and failures. Burlesque, not history, should treat of their actual existence. So the ideas and efforts of men, both South and North, in reference to bringing about secession and a slave confederacy, belong to the field of burlesque. But the attempt involved a long, bloody tragedy, and all of this has its earnest history.

Those who stood at the head of the Rebellion,

and those who aided them by word or otherwise in the North, were wrong in theory, and false as prophets. Failure does not necessarily prove wrong; but success, illustrated and tested in the light of time, may establish its own justice and right, and debar forever the claims of failure in the court of respectability. It has been said here that the Rebellion was all a crime and evil, in the common way of speaking; but to-day, after twenty years, who will say it was an unmitigated evil? Are there a hundred thousand intelligent persons in the South (I do not mean to take women into the count) who would restore slavery if they could?

There never was but one cause of rebellion and disunion, and the war destroyed that. What is the worth of the removal of the only cause of disunion to this Nation? The recovery of the country has been remarkable since the war. What conclusion does its present status justify? Has not the Rebellion its good side? Still, the motives and purposes of men decide the character of their acts, and no credit can be awarded those who aimed at evil and not beneficial results to the Union.

The people of the loyal States were not only greatly divided as to the course the Administration should take, but were active in various ways, either for good or ill, generally the latter, in giving direction to public sentiment; and there was no satisfactory unanimity, even in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. The weakest member of the Cabinet at the outset was, perhaps, Mr. Seward. In him the Republican party

had reposed the utmost confidence, and, to some extent, it had been considered a calamity that Mr. Lincoln had been substituted for him. The South had also looked upon him as the most unalterable and incorruptible among the fair opponents of slavery. But when the test came, Mr. Seward did not, for some time, appear equal to the emergency. His heart was set upon a peaceful restoration of the old order of things, and this blinded him to the folly of temporizing. With him went the majority of the Cabinet. While Mr. Lincoln was more just and conscientious, perhaps, and as anxious and ready to grant all that the Constitution afforded every State with its institutions, he saw more clearly than his Secretary of State, and was wiser. And, although the country did not see it at once, in him was its salvation always. His fatalism was a better thing than Mr. Seward's optimism. Only through his strong will, and the inevitable march of affairs, was Mr. Seward at last turned from his more than doubtful course.

Another most unfortunate thing at this critical moment was the age and wavering counsels of the General of the army. Although a successful general, war was never congenial pastime to him; and now disease and age had rendered him incapable. And yet another thing greatly disturbed Mr. Lincoln's Administration at this time, and this was the importance of taking the right course with the border Slave States, which had not yet "gone out of the Union," as it was very graciously said. The rebel leaders in the Cotton States said that the border Slave States

would, of necessity and choice, eventually go with them, and the Administration and its friends felt that as long as the border Slave States were held among the loyal, the hope of returning reason at the South was not lost, and, at all events, in a conflict at arms, these States would be of incalculable value to the Government.

To deal with conciliation was the spirit of the Administration and of the nominally or really loyal people. The unfortunate location of the Capital in the midst of slavery rendered it absolutely necessary for the Government to hold Maryland. So soon as it should cease to be a free gate-way for troops to Washington the Capital would be lost. So every politic measure was resorted to, to keep these States from entering the experimental path of secession. The struggle of the Administration with these States was pitiable in the extreme, but it was unavoidable. The Government was in no condition to use threats or apply force. Coercion and subjugation were unpopular terms. The mild policy of the Administration was none the less genuine because it was necessary, and it gained friends at every step. Mr. Buchanan had failed to throttle the error—secession—at the outset, and now the Administration must feel its way in the line of concession and conciliation if possible. In this way it hoped to gain the voluntary support of the loyal States, if the last resort became necessary. Already the revolted States had fired the first shot and begun the war; already they had furnished ample grounds for a warlike, coercive policy on the part of

the Administration, in the seizure of the forts and other Government property, and in the folly and pretense of "secession."

In the Senate John C. Breckinridge, who had just retired from the Vice-Presidency, and taken the seat to which he had been chosen, offered the resolution, "That the Senate recommend and advise the removal of the United States troops from the limits of the Confederate States." While this could not have been the recommendation of a loyal or patriotic man, it only shows further the disjointed condition of the times, and the strait to which the Administration was reduced. But whatever conciliatory steps were taken, or disposition was exhibited, no good effect was produced in the South where the revolt had taken root. Success appeared too certain there. One of the leading Southern newspapers uttered as follows the common sentiment as to the border State policy of the Administration:—

"The Black Republicans are a cowardly set, after all. They have not the courage of their own convictions. They tamper with their principles. Loathing slavery, they are willing to incur almost any sacrifice rather than surrender the border States. Appearances indicate their disposition even to forego the exquisite delight of sending armies and fleets to make war on the Confederate States, rather than run the risk of forfeiting the allegiance of the frontier Slave States. We see by this how hollow and perfidious is their policy, and how inconsistent are their acts with their professions. The truth is, they abhor slavery, but they are fully alive to the danger of losing their power and influence, should they drive Virginia and other border States out of the Union."

But the struggle for the border Slave States was not a one-sided matter. Long before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln the rebel leaders had made every possible attempt to enlist the border Slave States with them. Self-constituted, as well as regularly appointed, commissioners and agents had labored incessantly toward this end, and by false as well as true representations. While Maryland fully sympathized with the South, her situation was precarious, and even the most vehement among her secessionists were not ready to embark her in the Rebellion. Thomas H. Hicks, her Governor, was a Southern man in every sense of the term, and was not free from guilt, perhaps, in giving strength to the early disunion sentiment of the State. He had, however, not greatly favored the designs of the Cotton State agents who had been sent from time to time to enlist Maryland in the secession movement, and held out against the demand to convene the Legislature. The Legislature having the sole right to call a convention, an early session of that body was the first step in the plans of the secessionists. And when he did, at a late date, consent to convene the Legislature, it was then too late, and that body, although almost wholly composed of sympathizers, aiders, and abettors of the Southern cause, refused almost unanimously to take any steps toward putting the State "out of the Union."

The Montgomery rebel agents had attempted to gain the co-operation of Maryland, as a State, by the utterly false representation that the secession movement was only designed to enable the South to make

such terms as she desired in the Union. If this had been the purpose of secession, Maryland would not have been slow in a plan for open co-operation. In a scheme of this kind her position would have been of immense importance. But the rebel leaders never for a moment entertained a thought of such a thing. On the day of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, if they had been allowed to write their own terms, they would not have retraced their steps. They had no affection for the Union, they were not patriots, but they had a deep, unalterable hatred for the Yankee.

All the governors of the border Slave States were in sympathy with the Rebellion, and many of their citizens did what they could at home and in their representatives at Charleston and Montgomery to drag those States into the conflict against the Government. But the material interests of the border States seriously conflicted with their principles and inclinations. And at the outset, and for a long time even after Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, there was a strong Union sentiment in these States; and in the great part of Kentucky, secessionists were not only scarce, but were unwilling to risk their opinions in communities so strongly loyal.

While the apparently temporizing and dilatory policy of the Administration gave the border States confidence in the fair intentions and peaceable desires of the President, many loyal people with their friends abroad felt dissatisfied and anxious about the fatal paralysis which seemed to control public affairs. Mr. Lincoln had not improved upon the latter days of his

predecessor ; had, indeed, followed in his conciliatory and cautious steps. In Europe those who had always entertained evil sentiments toward this country, and the enemies of republican government generally, were already loud in proclaiming that the American bubble at last was broken. The inactivity at Washington gave these foreign false prophets a better pretext for adding their weight to the side of anarchy and disintegration. Of this apparently unfortunate state of affairs at Washington the Comte de Gasparin in "The Uprising of a Great People," says :—

"And under what pretexts do we chaffer with the government of Mr. Lincoln for those energetic, persevering sympathies on which it has a right to count ? Let us examine.

"We hear, in the first place, of the vigor of the South and the weakness of the North. It is not the first time that a bad cause has shown itself more ardent, more daring, less preoccupied by consequences, than a good one. Good causes have scruples, and every scruple is an obstacle.

"I am assuredly as sorry as any one to see Mr. Lincoln struck with a sort of paralysis. To my mind, the dangers of inactivity are considerable ; I believe that it discourages friends and encourages adversaries ; I believe that it sanctions more or less the baleful and erroneous principle of secession, a principle more contagious than any other ; I believe, in fine, that, by postponing civil war, it probably risks increasing its gravity. Nevertheless shall we not take into account the exceptional difficulties with which Mr. Lincoln is surrounded ?

"The preceding Administration took care to leave no resource in his hands ; he found the forts either surrendered or indefensible, the arsenals invaded, the army scattered, the navy dispatched to distant parts of the seas. Is

it strange that he should have yielded in some degree to the entreaties of so many able men, all urging in the same direction? If to-morrow he should yield entirely, if he should recognize the Southern Confederacy, would it be great cause for astonishment?

“Let us not forget, moreover, that the border States are at hand, forming a rampart, as it were, to protect the extreme South. Several of these States, I am convinced, incline sincerely towards the North, and will remain united with it; but are there not others, Virginia, for instance, which perhaps only refrain from seceding for the better protection of those that have done so, and whose present *rôle* consists in preventing all repression, while its future *rôle* will be to trammel all progress by the continued threat of joining the Southern Confederacy?”

Look now for a moment on the progress of events in the South among the rebels. The Slaveholders' Rebellion was started among an unpatriotic people on a few erroneous ideas, the chief of which were that cotton was king and slavery a beneficial and lovable institution, divinely sanctioned and ordered. The growth of the latter sentiment has already been sufficiently traced in former volumes of this work. A Southern writer says:—

“The necessity to labor is incompatible with a high civilization, and with heroic spirit in those subject to it.”

“The institution of African slavery is a means more effective than any other yet devised, for relieving a large body of men from the necessity of labor; consequently, States which possess it must be stronger in statesmanship and in war than those which do not; especially must they be stronger than States in which there is absolutely no privileged class, but all men are held to be equal before the law.”

"The civilized world is dependent upon the Slave States of America for a supply of cotton. The demand for this commodity has, during many years, increased faster than the supply. Sales are made of it, now, to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars in a year, yet they have a vast area of soil suitable for its production which has never been broken. With an enormous income, then, upon a steadily rising market, they hold a vast idle capital yet to be employed. Such a monopoly under such circumstances must constitute those who possess it the richest and most powerful people on the earth. The world must have cotton, and the world depends on them for it. Whatever they demand, that must be conceded them; whatever they want, they have but to stretch forth their hands and take it."

"No! you dare not make war upon cotton; no power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is king. Until lately the Bank of England was king; but she tried to put her screws, as usual, the fall before the last, on the cotton-crop, and was utterly vanquished. The last power has been conquered; who can doubt, that has looked at recent events, that cotton is supreme?"

On page 83, volume second of the "Constitutional View of the War," Mr. Stephens says:—

"To maintain that slavery is, in itself, sinful, in the face of all that is said and written in the Bible upon the subject, with so many sanctions of the relation by the Deity himself, does seem to me but little short of blasphemous. It is a direct imputation upon the wisdom and justice, as well as the declared ordinances of God, as they are written in the inspired oracles, to say nothing of their manifestation in the universe around us."

Among the many bold, heartless, and unwise pleas for slavery was that, by no means general,

however, in the South, and by no means peculiar to that section, that the negro (the slave) was not a black *man*, was not a *human being* at all, and was, therefore, not a subject of sympathy in that sense, or in treatment liable to the charge of inhumanity. Read these extracts:—

“The wide-spread delusion that Southern institutions are an evil, and their extension dangerous—the notion so prevalent at the North that there is a real antagonism, or that the system of the South is hostile to Northern interests; the weakened union sentiment, and the utter debauchment, the absolute traitorism of a portion of the Northern people, not only to the Union, but to Democratic institutions, and to the cause of civilization on this continent; all these, with the minor and most innumerable mischiefs that this mighty world-wide imposture (Abolitionism) has engendered or drags in its midst, rest upon the dogma, the single assumption, the sole elementary foundation falsehood, that a negro is a black man.”

“The institution of slavery operates by contrast and comparison; it elevates the tone of the superior, adds to its refinement, allows more time to cultivate the mind, exalts the standard in morals, manners, and intellectual endowments; operates as a safety-valve for the evil disposed, leaving the upper race purer, while it really preserves from degradation, in the scale of civilization, the inferior, which we see is their uniform destiny when left to themselves. The slaves constitute essentially the lowest class, and society is immeasurably benefited by having this class, which constitutes the offensive fungus—the great cancer of civilized life—a vast burthen and expense to every community, under surveillance and control; and not only so, but under direction as an efficient agent to promote the general welfare and increase the wealth of the

community. The history of the world furnishes no institution under similar management, where so much good actually results to the governors and the governed as this in the Southern States of North America."

"Fully convinced as we are that slavery . . . leaves to the *black laborer* a more considerable sum of comfort, happiness, and liberty than the inexorable labor required from the free servants of the whole universe, and that each emancipation of an African, without being of any benefit to him, would necessarily *condemn to slavery* one of our own race," etc.

How strangely sound these latter-day doctrines when compared with the following sentiments from Mr. Jefferson, the so-called founder of the Democratic party :—

"Whether further observation will or will not verify the conjecture, that Nature has been less bountiful to them in the endowments of the head, I believe that in those of the heart she will have done them justice. That disposition to theft, with which they have been branded, must be ascribed to their situation, and not to any depravity of the moral sense. The man in whose favor no laws of property exist, probably feels himself less bound to respect those made in favor of others. When arguing for ourselves, we lay it down as fundamental, that laws, to be just, must give a reciprocation of right; that without this, they are mere arbitrary rules, founded in force, and not in conscience; and it is a problem which I give to the master to solve, whether the religious precepts against the violation of property were not framed for him as well as his slave? and whether the slave may not as justifiably take a little from one who has taken all from him, as he may slay one who would slay him? That a change of the relations in which a man is placed should change his ideas

of moral right and wrong, is neither new, nor peculiar to the color of the blacks. Homer tells us it was so two thousand six hundred years ago:—

‘Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.’”

No matter what has been set forth in the numerous writings, and the innumerable speeches to the contrary, the rights and wrongs of the South in the Union were barely concerned in starting the Rebellion. The question of rights and wrongs, in the common acceptation of the term, was not involved. Or rather, perhaps, it is better to say that all there was in the question of rights and wrongs to the South belonged to this “institution” of human slavery. It was quite apparent from the conduct of the new Administration that slavery had nothing to fear from it, where it was established; and the inauguration of this Administration was a specious pretext. Mr. Douglas, who began to repent of his course even before the close of the short session of the Senate from March 4 to March 28, 1861, said, in answer to the resolution of J. C. Breckinridge, demanding the removal of Government troops from the Slave States:—

“From the beginning of this Government down to 1859, slavery was prohibited by Congress in some portion of the Territories of the United States. But now, for the first time in the history of this Government, there is no foot of ground in America where slavery is prohibited by act of Congress. You of the other side of this chamber, by the unanimous vote of every Republican in this body, and of every Republican in the House of Representatives,

have organized all the Territories of the United States on the principle of non-intervention by Congress with the question of slavery, leaving the people to do as they please, subject only to the limitations of the Constitution. Hence, I think, the Senator from Kentucky fell into a gross error of fact, as well as of law, when he said, the other day, that you had not abated one jot of your creed, that you had not abandoned your aggressive policy in the Territories, and that you were now pursuing the policy of excluding the Southern people from all the Territories of the United States. . . .

“There never has been a time since the Government was founded when the right of the slaveholders to emigrate to the Territories, to carry with them their slaves, and to hold them on an equal footing with all other property, was as fully and distinctly recognized in all the Territories as at this time, and that, too, by the unanimous vote of the Republican party in both Houses of Congress.

“The Senator from Kentucky has told you that the Southern States, still in the Union, will never be satisfied to remain in it unless they get terms that will give them either a right, in common with all the other States, to emigrate into the Territories, or that will secure to them their rights in the Territories on the principle of an equitable division. These are the only terms on which, as he says, those Southern States now in the Union will consent to remain. I wish to call the attention of that distinguished Senator to the fact that, under the law as it now stands, the South has all the rights which he claims. First, Southern men have the right to emigrate into all the Territories, and to carry their slave property with them, on an equality with the citizens of other States. Secondly, they have an equitable partition of the Territories assigned by law, viz.: all is slave territory up to the thirty-seventh degree, instead of up to the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, a half degree more than they claim.”

One of the first acts of the rebel authorities was to appoint commissioners to visit the other unseceded Slave States to urge upon them the necessity of taking places in the "new government," where their interests were really to be found. Three "commissioners" were also appointed to proceed to Washington "to agree, treat, consult, and negotiate concerning all matters in which the parties were both interested."

This was in itself a wonderful performance, not to be accounted for on reasonable or fairly sane grounds. Indeed, the grounds on which the Rebellion were founded, and all the steps in its development and inauguration were farcical, were a burlesque on ordinary human reason and character, on the moral sense of accountable beings, and on the average judgment of man as to the chances of immediate success, as well as of future liabilities. The "commission" to the foreign power of the United States had mainly one object in view, gaining favor with the other Slave States and with European nations. Whoever should appear the most peaceable and forbearing would receive credit for extraordinary virtue, and make friends. Jefferson Davis did not from the first believe secession possible without war, and well he knew the disadvantage of striking the first blow, of firing the first gun. Singularly enough, in the doubtful and wavering spirit of the times, the bombardment of a fort, or an assault with arms, was fixed as the signal blow, and they who struck it were to be put down as the aggressors and held morally

responsible. Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet became exceedingly wary on this point, and well they knew the moral and material risks the South would run in striking the Government, and the constant liability of the hot-headed leaders to do it.

But, as a matter of fact, the South had struck many a blow even before the end of Mr. Buchanan's Administration. Every step it took was rebellious, and each one was deserving of punishment. Every act had been a declaration of war. Even the appointing of "commissioners" and sending them to Washington and to Europe was an insult, and in itself a sufficient ground of war. It was saying, if you preserve the Union as it was you must fight. The calling of the convention or congress at Montgomery, and every step taken in it was a declaration of war against the United States; all the acts of the rebellious States back from the 4th of February to the day of the election of Mr. Lincoln had been declarations of war, virtually; the firing on the *Star of the West* was really the declaration at arms; and so back through the long category of evil deeds until the first declaration of war on the 7th of November, 1860, when the "Palmetto Flag" was hoisted above the "Stars and Stripes" amidst long and loud shouts for a "Southern Confederacy."

But even firing on the steamer, *Star of the West*, was not the first warlike act of the rebellious States. On the last day of December, 1860, under rebel authority, the United States arsenal, post-office, and custom-house at Charleston were seized; on the

second day of January, seven days before the *Star of the West* was fired upon, Georgia State troops seized the United States arsenal and Forts Pulaski and Jackson in that State; on the 24th of January the United States arsenal at Augusta and vast war stores belonging to the Government, also the Government steamer, *Ida*, were seized; during the month of February several New York vessels, and one Government brig were seized in the ports of Georgia, and by order of the Governor of that State the collection and payment of Government revenue was stopped; in January Florida and Alabama troops seized the Navy-yard, and Forts Marion, McRae, and Barrancas, with all their arms and munitions of war belonging to the United States; in the same month Alabama troops seized Fort Morgan and the Mt. Vernon arsenal with large quantities of war-stores belonging to the Government; Mississippi, also, in this month seized the United States hospital on the Mississippi River, and the fort at Ship Island; in January, too, Louisiana troops seized Fort Pike at Lake Pontchartrain, and the two forts below New Orleans on the river, the hospital at New Orleans, the armament of the revenue cutter, *Lewis Cass*, all commissary stores with United States officials, and on the first day of February the mint and custom-house at New Orleans with over a half million of Government gold and silver; in January Texas authorities seized the arms and stores of several ships in Galveston Bay; in February Texas troops seized Forts Chadbourne and Belknap, with

all the stores and arms, and General Twiggs, of the United States army, surrendered to the rebel authorities all the money, war-stores, and arms under his charge belonging to the United States, consisting of horses, wagons, ammunition, twenty-six mounted and forty-four pieces of unmounted artillery, thirty-five hundred stand of arms, and fifty-five thousand dollars in specie, and two days after Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, Fort Brown on the Rio Grande went into the hands of the rebels; Arkansas also on the 8th of February seized the Arsenal at Little Rock with forty pieces of cannon and large quantities of small arms; in January, North Carolina took Forts Johnson and Caswell, but turned the property over to the Government with the advice not to stock the forts again; and even Virginia, whose Governor was extremely rebellious, mourned because, after thorough investigation, she found herself in no condition to seize or capture Fortress Monroe. These and many other acts of the rebel authorities were blow after blow, were flagrant acts of war against the United States, and justified this Government in striking at once for its integrity and its life.

Thus it was, by the aid of Mr. Buchanan's Southern Cabinet members and various Southern Congressmen, on the 4th of March the rebels were, without cost or effort, in possession of arms of every grade and other war supplies for a large army. In the face of all this treason and warlike plundering, Mr. Lincoln entered upon his office, and his leading Cabinet minister even began to hold out pretensions of

conciliation, and intrigue with rebel agents from Montgomery.

The relation Mr. Seward was supposed to bear to the President elect gave him, to some extent, an injurious conspicuity during the winter of 1860, during the last days of Mr. Buchanan's Administration. Of this he did not hesitate to take advantage, laboring under a mistake not by any means confined to himself, that he was to be the leading power of the Administration, and under the earnest impression that he would, without saying or knowing how, by his dexterous management be able to restore peace to the country. In this view he led in those measures looking to the close of Mr. Buchanan's term of office without a conflict at arms. The rebels took the same view of his place in the Administration which his friends did in the North, and much stress was placed upon his prophecies, his promises, and his silent pretensions. He said everywhere that peace would soon be restored, and with this saying there went the air of I know; and at this mere straw men caught, both North and South.

General Scott, in his weakness, had advised the surrender of Fort Sumter, and in bringing about this decision Mr. Seward was somewhat instrumental. It would be a conciliatory and friendly step, and was a part of Mr. Seward's indefinite plan for restoration. The sight of the flag of the Union at Sumter was extremely irritating to the true friends of the Constitution, as Mr. Davis called the rebels. With a view to making matters as little offensive

as possible to them Major Robert Anderson was sent early in the winter of 1860 to take command of the Government forts and property in Charleston Harbor. While Major Anderson was a native of a Slave State and his "heart was never in the war," he had been educated at West Point, and his sense of honor and, perhaps, other circumstances, among which may be mentioned patriotism, led him to remain faithful to the side of the Union. But his appointment to command in Charleston Harbor was agreeable to the rebels, and it is not clear that Mr. Buchanan's rebel Secretary of War did not have him sent there under the belief that the forts in his control would readily be surrendered to South Carolina.

Anderson was treated with great kindness by the Charleston secessionists, and openly told that while they respected him as a Southern man, they must have the forts, and under his eyes made preparations to take them by force, if they were not surrendered. Under these circumstances Major Anderson saw fit on the night of the 26th of December to transfer his little command from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, the best position for defense in the Harbor. The rebels immediately took charge of Moultrie and began to put it in a more warlike condition, at the same time regarding Anderson's movement as an insult, if not an actual declaration of hostilities. Alexander H. Stephens says in his ridiculous Colloquy with some credulous, tender-footed, imaginary opponents, that Fort Sumter was within the jurisdiction of South Caro-

lina. "It was built especially for her protection, and belonged to her in part as well as to the other States jointly." If Fort Sumter was jointly owned by all the States, what right to its sole possession had South Carolina, without the consent of all the other owners? It was a childish assertion, too, that Sumter or any of the forts in any of the harbors of the whole country was built for the special (sole) protection of the State or city in whose "jurisdiction" it stood.

All the public defenses were made from the common fund of all the States for the benefit and protection of all as one, as a whole, against common, foreign foes. When Fort Sumter protected Charleston and South Carolina, it protected the Union. In any true sense a foe of South Carolina could only be a foe of all the States, of the United States Government. A union of States, a government, never constructs military works to have them turned against itself by any of its integral parts or members; but one of their objects may wisely be its own defense against rebellious or fractious members. Fort Sumter was the property of the Government, and to seize or assail it or any other such work was to assail all the States, to assail the Government. South Carolina was an integral part of the Union, and without her there was no Union, no Government. To attempt in any way to destroy the Union without the consent of all the parts was rebellion against the Government. Under the Constitution the obligations of a State in itself to the Union were not limited. The "more perfect Union" was to be perpetual.

Every step and every blow on the part of the seceding States was a blow against the Government, against the highest interests, the life of all the other States of the Union.

Mr. Stephens and other rebels, while forced to admit that South Carolina, or the Rebellion, did fire the first gun and begin the war, declare it was in self-defense. But this view was a natural product of the sophistry and falsification on which the movement was set afoot. There is no such a thing as self-defense in a rebellion. A rebellion is not justified by defense, certainly not an unrighteous one. The new Administration was extreme in its friendly feelings and desires toward the South, and even the absurd cry of "Let them go in peace" went up among the patient and loyal.

But slavery would die in the Union, eventually. This was its obvious destiny. If secession could be successful, slavery would become the corner-stone of a new government and a new civilization. This was the sole object of the Rebellion. But such a government never rose and never fell. It was a pretense. Secession was an experiment. Everything pertaining to it was merely "so-called," except the bloody conflict which destroyed it root and branch. The history of the "Southern Confederacy" is the history of a bloody bubble, and in that light it is held throughout this work.

CHAPTER XXIII.

COMMISSIONERS FROM THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY—
FALL OF SUMTER AND MAJOR ANDERSON—BEGINNING
OF THE GREAT WAR OF THE REBELLION—THE PRES-
IDENT CALLS FOR 75,000 SOLDIERS—THE FIRE IN THE
REAR.

ONE of the "Commissioners" from Montgomery reached Washington a day or two before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, carrying with him a letter from Jefferson Davis to President Buchanan. Mr. Buchanan declined to receive him, and for eight days after he had retired from office no step was taken in the matter, although it was well known that at least two of the three "Commissioners" were in Washington. But, in the meantime, John A. Campbell, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who was in full sympathy with the South, took up the affairs of the "Commission." Judge Campbell had not been in favor of a dissolution of the Union, and his efforts were now designed to further the cause of peace. Of this there can be no doubt, although he took the Southern view of politics. He was on friendly terms with Mr. Seward, and entertained the erroneous opinion that Mr. Seward was the *de facto* head of the Administration, an error which subsequently led him to misrepresent the purposes of Mr. Seward, and utterly falsify the posi-

tion and conduct of the President. Still it is rather clear that Mr. Seward himself did no little in making the way possible for Judge Campbell's entire error.

On the 11th of March, 1861, the rebel commissioners notified Mr. Seward that they desired to lay before him the object of their presence at the Capital of the United States, and on the following day this request was declined. On the 13th they sent to the Secretary of State a written communication stating what they would have done in a personal interview. Mr. Seward wrote a reply which was dated on the 15th, which was not, however, delivered to the rebel agents until the 8th of April. This answer was termed a memorandum, and was neither signed by the Secretary of State, nor did it recognize the two agents then present as commissioners from any recognizable source of authority. On the 9th of April the "Commissioners" sent a very pompous and acrimonious letter to Mr. Seward, reviewing what they believed to be the course of the Administration with them, and adding various characteristic things concerning the "new government," which they had desired to represent; and a day or two afterwards, mortally offended, they left Washington.

The following is the main letter on this subject from Judge Campbell, who was a sort of intermediary between the Secretary and the rebel agents, and who himself soon afterwards left the Supreme Bench and joined the Rebellion:—

"WASHINGTON CITY, April 13, 1861.

"SIR,—On the 15th of March ultimo I left with Judge Crawford, one of the Commissioners of the Confederate States,

a note in writing to the effect following: 'I feel entire confidence that Fort Sumter will be evacuated in the next five days. And this measure is felt as imposing great responsibility on the Administration. I feel entire confidence that no measure changing the existing status, prejudicially to the Southern Confederate States, is at present contemplated. I feel an entire confidence that an immediate demand for an answer to the communication of the Commissioners will be productive of evil, and not of good. I do not believe that it ought at this time to be pressed.'

"The substance of this statement I communicated to you the same evening by letter. Five days elapsed and I called with a telegram from General Beauregard to the effect that Sumter was not evacuated, but that Major Anderson was at work making repairs.

"The next day, after conversing with you, I communicated to Judge Crawford, in writing, that the failure to evacuate Sumter was not the result of bad faith, but was attributable to causes consistent with the intention to fulfill the engagement, and that, as regarded Pickens, I should have notice of any design to alter the existing status there. Mr. Justice Nelson was present at these conversations, three in number, and I submitted to him each of my written communications to Judge Crawford, and informed Judge C. that they had his (Judge Nelson's) sanction. I gave you, on the 22d of March, a substantial copy of the statement I had made on the 15th.

"The 30th of March arrived, and at that time a telegram came from Governor Pickens inquiring concerning Colonel Lamon, whose visit to Charleston he supposed had a connection with the proposed evacuation of Fort Sumter. I left that with you, and was to have an answer the following Monday (1st of April). On the 1st of April I received from you the statement in writing: 'I am satisfied the Government will not undertake to supply Fort Sumter without giving notice to Governor P.' The words, 'I am satisfied,' were for me to use as expressive of confidence in the remainder of the declaration.

"The proposition, as originally prepared, was, 'The President *may desire* to supply Sumter, but will not do so,' etc., and your verbal explanation was that you did not believe any such attempt would be made, and that there was no design to

re-enforce Sumter. There was a departure here from the pledges of the previous month; but, with the verbal explanation, I did not consider it a matter then to complain of. I simply stated to you that I had that assurance previously.

“On the 7th of April I addressed you a letter on the subject of the alarm that the preparations by the Government had created, and asked you if the assurances I had given were well or ill-founded. In respect to Sumter, your reply was: ‘Faith as to Sumter fully kept—wait and see.’ In the morning’s paper I read: ‘An authorized messenger from President Lincoln informed Governor Pickens and General Beauregard that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter—peaceably, or *otherwise by force*.’ This was the 8th of April, at Charleston, the day following your last assurance, and is the evidence of the full faith I was invited to wait *for* and *see*. In the same paper, I read that intercepted dispatches disclosed the fact that Mr. Fox, who had been allowed to visit Major Anderson, on the pledge that his purpose was pacific, employed his opportunity to devise a plan for supplying the fort by force, and that this plan had been adopted by the Washington Government, and was in process of execution. My recollection of the date of Mr. Fox’s visit carries it to a day in March. I learn he is a near connection of a member of the Cabinet. My connection with the Commissioners and yourself was superinduced by a conversation with Justice Nelson. He informed me of your strong disposition in favor of peace, and that you were oppressed with a demand of the Commissioners of the Confederate States for a reply to their first letter, and that you desired to avoid it, if possible, at that time.

“I told him I might perhaps be of some service in arranging the difficulty. I came to your office entirely at his request, and without knowledge of either of the Commissioners. Your depression was obvious to both Judge Nelson and myself. I was gratified at the character of the counsels you were desirous of pursuing, and much impressed with your observation that a civil war might be prevented by the success of my mediation. You read a letter of Mr. Weed to show how irksome and responsible the withdrawal of troops from Sumter was. A portion of my communication to Judge Crawford on the 15th of March was founded upon these remarks, and the pledge to evacuate

Sumter is less forcible than the words you employed. These words were: 'Before this letter reaches you (a proposed letter by me to President Davis) Sumter will have been evacuated.'

"The Commissioners who received those communications conclude they have been abused and overreached. The Montgomery government hold the same opinion. The Commissioners have supposed that my communications were with you, and upon the hypothesis were prepared to arraign you before the country in connection with the President. I placed a peremptory prohibition upon this as being contrary to the term of my communications with them. I pledged myself to them to communicate information upon what I considered as the best authority, and they were to confide in the ability of myself, aided by Judge Nelson, to determine upon the credibility of my informant.

"I think no candid man who will read over what I have written, and considers for a moment what is going on at Sumter, but will agree that the equivocating conduct of the Administration, as measured and interpreted in connection with these promises, is the proximate cause of the great calamity.

"I have a profound conviction that the telegrams of the 8th of April of General Beauregard, and of the 10th of April of General Walker, the Secretary of War, can be referred to nothing else than their belief that there has been systematic duplicity practiced on them through me. It is under an oppressive sense of the weight of this responsibility that I submit to you these things for your explanation.

"Very respectfully, JOHN A. CAMPBELL,

"Associate Justice of the Supreme Court U. S.

"Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

The following is the substantial part of Mr. Seward's memorandum to the rebel agents:—

"The Secretary of State frankly confesses that he understands the events which have recently occurred, and the condition of political affairs which actually exists in the part of the Union to which his attention has thus been directed, very differently from the aspect in which they are presented by Messrs.

Forsyth and Crawford. He sees in them not a rightful and accomplished revolution and an independent nation, with an established government, but rather a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purpose of an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the Federal Government, and hitherto benignly exercised, as from their very nature they always must be so exercised, for the maintenance of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the security, peace, welfare, happiness, and aggrandizement of the American people.

“The Secretary of State, therefore, avows to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he looks patiently but confidently for the cure of evils which have resulted from proceedings so unnecessary, so unwise, so unusual, and so unnatural, not to irregular negotiations, having in view new and untried relations with agencies unknown to and acting in derogation of the Constitution and laws, but to regular and considerate action of the people of those States, in co-operation with their brethren in the other States, through the Congress of the United States, and such extraordinary conventions, if there shall be need thereof, as the Federal Constitution contemplates and authorizes to be assembled. It is, however, the purpose of the Secretary of State on this occasion not to invite or engage in any discussion of these subjects, but simply to set forth his reasons for declining to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

“On the 4th of March instant the then newly elected President of the United States, in view of all the facts bearing on the present question, assumed the Executive administration of the Government, first delivering, in accordance with an early and honored custom, an inaugural address to the people of the United States. The Secretary of State respectfully submits a copy of this address to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford. A simple reference to it will be sufficient to satisfy those gentlemen that the Secretary of State, guided by the principles therein announced, is prevented altogether from admitting or assuming that the States referred to by them, have, in law or in fact, withdrawn from the Federal Union, or that they could do so in the manner described by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, or in any other manner than with the consent and concert

of the people of the United States, to be given through a National Convention, to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Of course the Secretary of State can not act upon the assumption, or in any way admit that the so-called Confederate States constitute a foreign power, with whom diplomatic relations ought to be established.

“Under these circumstances the Secretary of State, whose official duties are confined, subject to the direction of the President, to the conducting of the foreign relations of the country, and do not at all embrace domestic questions, or questions arising between the several States and the Federal Government, is unable to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford to appoint a day on which they may present the evidences of their authority, and the object of their visit to the President of the United States. On the contrary, he is obliged to state to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he has no authority, nor is he at liberty to recognize them as diplomatic agents, or hold correspondence or other communication with them.

“Finally, the Secretary of State would observe that although he has supposed that he might safely and with propriety have adopted these conclusions without making any reference of the subject to the Executive, yet so strong has been his desire to practice entire directness and to act in a spirit of perfect respect and candor towards Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, and that portion of the people of the Union in whose name they present themselves before him, that he has cheerfully submitted this paper to the President, who coincides generally in the views it expresses, and sanctions the Secretary's decision declining official intercourse with Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.”

Judge Campbell knew substantially the contents of Mr. Seward's memorandum when it was first prepared, and knew that it was the decision of the President. It was plain and candid, and there was no ground in it on which to erect an opinion favorable

to the wishes of the rebels. But in Campbell's numerous interviews with Mr. Seward, who believed that he was laying himself open to a man whose intentions towards the Government and Union were similar to his own, he firmly established himself in the agreeable error that Mr. Seward really controlled the Administration. He knew Mr. Seward favored the surrender of Fort Sumter and Charleston Harbor.

Mr. Seward erroneously believed that the abandonment of Charleston Harbor would open the door for more kindly feelings, and take the spirit out of the Rebellion. He expressed himself freely to Judge Campbell, and this he did in that authoritative way he unfortunately assumed at the outset of the new Administration. Here was the seat of the whole mischief. And here was the foundation of the erroneous charges of Campbell, the three rebel agents, Jefferson Davis, and other writers on that side, against Mr. Lincoln and his Administration. Judge Campbell depended on Mr. Seward, and the latter placing unwarrantable stress on his position committed himself to Campbell without authority and in a policy he was unable to carry out. The President did not share his feelings as to the abandonment of Sumter, nor did he know anything of the hope he was holding out to Campbell and the rebels. The President was laboring to ascertain the true condition of affairs and establish a policy as to Charleston Harbor which would in the end best subserve the interests of the Nation. And notwithstanding the views of Mr. Seward and General Scott, and the

course of his predecessor, he strongly inclined to hold Fort Sumter, and did not mean to give it up, if it would appear that it should and could be held. Mr. Seward believed he could overcome the President's scruples and doubts on this point, and so held out to the last moment to Judge Campbell that all would be right, that faith would be kept as to Sumter. But he only meant his own faith, and mistook the superior discernment and power of his Chief, as Judge Campbell did.

By reference to the last paragraph of the foregoing quotation from Mr. Seward's memorandum to the rebel agents his position as to the conduct of this matter, if not also his general course in the Administration at that time, until he learned better, may be seen. He seemed to think that he might properly enough carry on this business without consulting the President. This wonderful assumption on the part of Mr. Seward was a source of great confusion and no inconsiderable mischief. Mr. Seward at that time, at all events, entertained the opinion that his knowledge of governmental affairs and his superior executive ability, not to say anything about other qualities, made him of more importance than the President. In acting upon this opinion he undertook a course which was irregular and reprehensible. He even opposed regular Cabinet meetings, and desired the President and himself to settle many little matters without the formality of a conference with the other members of the Administration. In this way he even undertook to direct certain movements

belonging to the War and Navy Departments without consulting their heads. This, with other matters, greatly embarrassed the new Administration for the first month or so, until the President got ready to show who, in fact as well as in every qualification, was the head officer of the Government.

While Mr. Seward, with the best possible intentions, laid himself liable, to some extent, perhaps, to the charges of overreaching, double-dealing, etc., brought by the rebels against the Administration, it is quite clear that Mr. Lincoln and the other members of his Cabinet, or the Administration as such, were not, in the least degree, compromised or involved. This will still further appear in what follows in this chapter.

On the day after his inauguration, letters from Fort Sumter were shown to Mr. Lincoln, giving the opinion of Major Anderson that it would take an army of twenty thousand men to raise the siege of the fort at that juncture, so complete and extensive had the rebel works become. Next General Scott came on with his budget, not only advising the President to give up Sumter, but after a little, Fort Pickens also. Mr. Lincoln was not, however, favorable to General Scott's ideas about this matter, and was ready to listen to schemes for relieving Sumter, and strengthening the other fort without disturbing the state of affairs in the South. On the 15th of March he gave this question to the Cabinet in full: "Assuming it to be possible to provision Fort Sumter, is it wise under all the circumstances of the case

to attempt to do so?" So far was the Cabinet influenced by the apparent disposition of the general public and the decided sentiment of Mr. Seward and General Scott that only two members favored making the attempt.

To the credit of Montgomery Blair, it should always be remembered that from the outset, and ever afterwards, he opposed the surrender of Fort Sumter, as he did the surrender of any interest and right of the Government. The situation was difficult and trying to the President, and he felt his way slowly. To do right and best was his only desire. Of the true state of affairs at Fort Pickens at Pensacola, he was not informed, nor was he aware of the compromising course the Secretary of State was taking, or, more accurately speaking, the impression he was leaving on the rebel agents through Judge Campbell as to the ultimate success of his policy in the conduct of the Administration at this critical point. At last, on the 29th of March, a final conclusion was reached. A change had taken place in the Cabinet. The President now found that four of its seven members were in favor of attempting to re-enforce, and at all events, re-provision, Fort Sumter. This was in harmony with his own convictions, and was the turning-point in the indecisive pause in the conduct of the Administration. The President decided to take the step about which there never should have been a moment's hesitancy at any time, and make the attempt to convey the necessary supplies and re-enforcements to Major Anderson.

Captain C. V. Fox, who had visited Fort Sumter, and whose plans Mr. Lincoln favored, was at once sent to New York to fit out the expedition. On the 9th and 10th of April the fleet, consisting of three war-ships, three fast steamers, some transports and other boats, sailed for Charleston Harbor. In the meantime an expedition was sent to Pensacola, and Fort Pickens forever secured from successful assault by the rebels.

Mr. Seward was now, perhaps, the only member of the Cabinet who did not fully acquiesce in the President's course. He still hoped to so divert Mr. Lincoln from his designs as to be able to fulfill his own desires, and make his somewhat exaggerated pretensions good to the rebel agents, yet believing as honestly and patriotically as he could that his way would be best for the Union. That his faith in his success was quite strong, is very plain from his singular announcement to Judge Campbell on April 1st: "Faith as to Sumter fully kept. Wait and see."

It was not easy for Mr. Seward to learn who was at the head of the Administration, and he was not quite ready to come down from the pedestal on which his friends had placed him. At this juncture he made known to Mr. Lincoln the extent of his hopes, and the impression he had left on the rebel managers; and on the strength of this representation and his desire to relieve the case as much as possible, he authorized the Secretary to say to Judge Campbell that no attempt would be made to supply Fort Sumter without giving notice of it. This was Mr.

Lincoln's first appearance in the affair with the rebel agents after and beyond the "memorandum." To this peculiar and humiliating circumstance the President was now reduced. And accordingly, on the 8th, the day before the first vessels sailed from New York on the expedition, a messenger arrived in Charleston and delivered to Governor Pickens the following announcement originally drafted by Mr. Lincoln himself: "I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only, and if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in provisions, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort."

This ambiguous and undignified message was a necessity of the unauthorized course of Mr. Seward. On the preceding day Major Anderson had been informed by a letter written by Mr. Lincoln, but put in the hand of Secretary Cameron, of the effort about to be made to supply the fort; and in this letter the President took occasion to say kindly that he had no desire to expose him to unusual dangers, and mentioned that it would be expected for him to give up the fort when his judgment showed him the propriety of doing so.

Major Anderson's answer to this letter, dated April 8th, fortunately for this unpatriotic representative of the Nation's bounty, was never seen by Mr. Lincoln, as it fell into the hands of the rebels and there remained until after the war. After speaking

of the active warlike operations of the Charleston authorities, he concludes with these lines:—

“I had the honor to receive, by yesterday’s mail, the letter of the Honorable Secretary of War, dated April 4th, and confess that what he there states surprises me very greatly, following as it does, and contradicting so positively, the assurance Mr. Crawford telegraphed he was ‘authorized’ to make. I trust that this subject will be at once put in a correct light, as a movement made now, when the South has been erroneously informed that none such would be attempted, would produce most disastrous results throughout our country. It is, of course, now too late for me to give any advice in reference to the proposed scheme of Captain Fox. I fear that its result can not fail to be disastrous to all concerned. Even with his boat at our walls, the loss of life (as I think I mentioned to Captain Fox) in unloading her will more than pay for the good to be accomplished by the expedition, which keeps us, if I can maintain possession of this work, out of position, surrounded by strong works which must be carried to make this fort of the least value to the United States.

“We have not oil enough to keep a light in the lantern for one night. The boats will have to, therefore, rely at night entirely upon other marks. I ought to have been informed that this expedition was to come. Colonel Lamon’s remark convinced me that the idea, merely hinted at to me by Captain Fox, would not be carried out.

“We shall strive to do our duty, though I frankly say that my heart is not in this war, which I see is to be thus commenced. That God will still avert it, and cause us to resort to pacific means to maintain our rights, is my ardent prayer.

“I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ROBERT ANDERSON,

“Major 1st Artillery, Commanding.”

This ill-humored, badly written, and unmanly letter could never add a laurel to the memory of the soldier, whose bones now lie at West Point, a spot honored by the fostering care of the Government. But three months before, when the *Star of the West* was fired upon, the blood of the patriot was stirred in his veins, he declared the war had been wickedly begun, prepared his guns for the combat, and, with more fire than discretion, notified the Carolinians of his disposition in the matter. He then backed down, however, and concluded to leave the affair to be settled by the Government. Now, an expedition was coming for the same purpose for which the *Star of the West* had been sent, but the case seemed changed with him. The war was again to be begun, and in a way in which his heart was not in it. His complaints were premature and trifling. So soon as possible after the decisive step was taken at Washington, Major Anderson was notified, but he was unprepared for the conflict when it came. If a thousand soldiers and provisions for ten years had been thrown into Fort Sumter then, it would have been of no avail. The exposed combustible matter with which he allowed it to be filled, only made its fall a question of a few hours. Major Anderson's heart was not in the war then, nor was it at any later period. In 1863, after serving in feeble health in one or two commands of little military importance, he withdrew entirely from the contest.

At two o'clock, on the 11th of April, Beauregard in command of the rebel force of four or five thou-

sand men, and the fortifications in Charleston Harbor, demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter. The following are Major Anderson's answer, and the subsequent correspondence before the assault:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS FORT SUMTER, S. C., }
“April 11, 1861. }

“To Brig. Gen. G. T. BEAUREGARD, Commanding Provisional Army
C. S. A.:

“GENERAL,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication demanding the evacuation of this fort, and to say in reply thereto that it is a demand with which I regret that my sense of honor and my obligation to my Government prevent my compliance.

“Thanking you for the fair, manly, and courteous terms proposed, and for the high compliment paid me, I remain, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“ROBERT ANDERSON,
“Major U. S. Army, Commanding.”

“HEAD-QUARTERS PROV'L ARMY C. S. A., }
“CHARLESTON, S. C., April 11, 1861, 11 P. M. }

“Major ROBERT ANDERSON, Commanding at Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, S. C.:

“MAJOR,—In consequence of the verbal observations made by you to my aids, Messrs. Chesnut and Lee, in relation to the condition of your supplies, and that you would in a few days be starved out if our guns did not batter you to pieces, or words to that effect, and desiring no useless effusion of blood, I communicated both the verbal observation and your written answer to my communication to my government.

“If you will state the time at which you will evacuate Fort Sumter, and agree that in the mean time you will not use your guns against us unless ours shall be employed against Fort Sumter, we shall abstain from opening fire upon you. Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee are author-

ized by me to enter into such an agreement with you. You are, therefore, requested to communicate to them an open answer.

"I remain, Major, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. T. BEAUREGARD,

"Brigadier-General, Commanding."

"HEAD-QUARTERS FORT SUMTER, S. C., }
"2.30 A. M., April 12, 1861. }

"To Brig. Gen. G. T. BEAUREGARD, Commanding Provisional Army
C. S. A.:

"GENERAL,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your second communication of the 11th instant, by Colonel Chesnut, and to state in reply, that, cordially uniting with you in the desire to avoid the useless effusion of blood, I will, if provided with the necessary means of transportation, evacuate Fort Sumter by noon on the 15th instant, should I not receive, prior to that time, controlling instructions from my Government, or additional supplies, and that I will not in the meantime open my fire upon your forces, unless compelled to do so by some hostile act against this fort or the flag of my Government, by the forces under your command, or by some portion of them, or by the perpetration of some act showing a hostile intention on your part against this fort or the flag it bears.

"I have the honor to be, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ROBERT ANDERSON,

"Major U. S. A., Commanding."

"FORT SUMTER, S. C., April 12, 1861, 3.20 A. M.

"Major ROBERT ANDERSON, United States Army, Commanding Fort Sumter:

"SIR,—By authority of Brigadier-General Beauregard, Commanding the Provisional forces of the Confederate States, we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time.

"We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

"JAMES CHESNUT, JR., Aid-de-Camp.

"STEPHEN D. LEE,

"Captain S. C. Army and Aid-de-Camp."

Accordingly, at half-past four o'clock on the morning of the 12th of April, 1861, a shell from James Island, near old Fort Johnson, announced the practical inauguration of the war. The people of Charleston knew what was to take place, and all the night they had waited anxiously for the hour to arrive when they were to see the realization of their fondest desire.

The cannonade was soon general from the various rebel works, and from the very outset it told with effect upon the insecure brick fort, defended by a hundred brave men. Not until seven o'clock did Major Anderson make any reply, but from that time until late in the afternoon the firing was quite spirited on both sides. During the dark and stormy night of the 12th the rebels kept up an irregular bombardment, which brought no return from the fort. Some time in the afternoon a part of the relief squadron was discovered off the entrance to the harbor, but it was not able to make an attempt even to furnish aid of any kind to the beleaguered fort, and could only witness at a distance the end it was designed to prevent. Through some confusion of orders, perhaps, brought about by Mr. Seward's desire to the last to make good his predictions to Judge Campbell, and to see his own policy triumph, the expedition was

substantially deprived of a commander, and the flagship sent to the Gulf of Mexico.

On the morning of the 13th Major Anderson again returned the rebel fire with considerable energy, but for no other purpose than to satisfy his sense of duty. There was but one result possible—the surrender of the fort. The contest had too many uneven conditions about it, although the number of guns at first engaged was, perhaps, against the rebels. More than half of the guns of the fort were on the rampart, *en barbette*, and these were soon abandoned. The guns in the casemates were mainly those least fit to be of service in such an emergency. By noon the burning of the wooden buildings, which should have been removed, rendered the fort untenable, and some of the rebels, who still had some respect for fair play in a fight, became anxious to secure the surrender without further needless risks on the part of its brave defenders.

L. T. Wigfall, late United States Senator from Texas, who had gone down to Charleston to be present as a volunteer, went over at this juncture alone in a boat to ascertain the true condition of the fort, and ask Major Anderson to surrender. He rowed up to the fort, waving a white handkerchief and was taken in. Anderson informed him that he was willing to surrender on the terms proposed by General Beauregard on the 11th. Wigfall, who had no authority to ask for a surrender, reported to Beauregard that Major Anderson had submitted unconditionally. Beauregard sent over some officers to arrange for

the evacuation of the fort, and found that Wigfall had exaggerated the case, but after a little delay he acceded to Anderson's offer. On the next day, Sunday, the 14th, after the ceremony of prayer, and saluting the "*Stars and Stripes*" with a discharge of fifty guns, Fort Sumter was abandoned to the rebels, and Anderson sailed with his troops in the steamer *Baltic* to New York, where, on the 18th, he officially notified the Administration of the result of the first conflict of the war.

In the meantime many other things occupied the attention of the Administration. Virginia had by a large majority in convention refused to adopt a secession ordinance, and sent three agents to Washington to confer with the President. On the 13th of April, while the fate of Sumter was still unknown, they had an audience with Mr. Lincoln, from whom they received the following reply to the demand from the secession convention of that State:—

HON. MESSRS. PRESTON, STUART, AND RANDOLPH.

"GENTLEMEN,—As a committee of the Virginia Convention, now in session, you present me a preamble and resolution in these words:

"WHEREAS, In the opinion of this convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue toward the seceded States is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace; therefore,

"Resolved, That a committee of three delegates be appointed to wait on the President of the United States,

present to him this preamble and resolution, and respectfully ask him to communicate to this convention the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.'

"In answer I have to say, that having at the beginning of my official term expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and some mortification I now learn that there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue.

"Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give of my purposes. As I then and therein said, I now repeat:

"The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.'

"By the words 'property and places belonging to the Government,' I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in the possession of the Government when it came to my hands.

"But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess, if I can, like places which had been seized before the Government was devolved upon me. And, in any event, I shall, to the best of my ability, repel force by force.

"In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall, perhaps, cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement

of actual war against the Government justifies and possibly demands it.

“ I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded as yet belonging to the Government of the United States as much as they did before the supposed secession.

“ Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country—not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort on the border of the country. From the fact that I have quoted a portion of the Inaugural Address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification.”

Four days after this interview Virginia was voted “ out of the Union ” in a secret session of her convention. The bombardment and fall of Sumter had quite different effects in the opposite parties of the Union. Secession took a vast stride. Patriotism received its death-blow in the South. Prophets arose everywhere, who, like their race in all ages, based their predictions of the future upon their own false desires. One of these, L. P. Walker, the rebel war secretary, said :—

“ No man can foretell the events of the war inaugurated ; but I will venture to predict that the flag which now floats on the breeze will before the first of May, float over the dome of the Capitol at Washington, and if they choose to try Southern chivalry, and test the strength of Southern resources, will eventually float over Faneuil Hall in Boston.”

The capture of Sumter was considered a grand achievement, and was taken by the enthusiastic rebels, young and old, "male and female," as expressive of military superiority over the less impetuous North, and an omen of certain future success. It was the general prediction in the South that she would have an easy walk to the destiny she sought.

Two weeks after the evacuation of Sumter a Richmond newspaper said that "there never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject that is now manifested to take Washington. From the mountain-tops and valleys to the shores of the sea, there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington City at all and every human hazard." The poorest laid scheme of men was never doomed to greater disappointment. "Foolery, sir, does walk about the orb, like the sun; it shines everywhere."

How stood the case at the North? The news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter had barely reached the North, and been received by an incredulous people when the President assembled his Cabinet on Sunday morning, April 14th, to discuss the state of affairs, and prepare for the next step. There was apparent but one leader in the Administration now. In the fall of Sumter Mr. Seward had, to a great extent, come down from the exalted post where his friends had placed him. With his own hand Mr. Lincoln, during this Cabinet meeting, drafted the following proclamation which was published on Monday morning, and effectually dispelled from

the doubting everywhere the actual beginning of hostilities :—

“WHEREAS, The laws of the United States have been for some time past, and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law: Now, therefore, I Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

“The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured. I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth, will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens of any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within twenty days from this date.

“Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue

of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress. The Senators and Representatives are, therefore, summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at twelve o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as in their wisdom the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this fifteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

"By the President:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

Even in taking this step Mr. Lincoln proceeded with great caution, in order to leave no room for the cavil of the fault-finding and unpatriotic, framing his call for the seventy-five thousand troops under the old act of 1795. It was a calm, matter-of-fact way of announcing that the war had actually begun. There was no extravagance or enthusiasm in it, and it contained little to arouse any in the people.

Surrounded by confusion, clashing opinions, indifference, and treason, Mr. Lincoln could only hope that his course would meet the public approbation. He had no ground for positive assurance, and yet no trace of doubt as to his own duty or that of the people crept into this warlike proclamation. The result of its reception was phenomenal, giving confidence and vigor to the timid and halting Administration. Throughout the North unanimity and enthu-

siasm took the place of division and doubt. Dormant patriotism was revived, and every man stood up for the defense of his country. Party contention ceased and party lines were rubbed out. The flag, the Government, the people had been insulted, and indignation speedily followed amazement. The Democrats had held the Republicans responsible for all the evil which befell the country, even regarding the very existence of the Republican party as the cause of the war; but this matter was lost sight of now, and the great mass of the rank and file, as well as the leaders, of the Democracy took the patriotic side in the struggle now clearly enough inaugurated. It was only a choice between sides, between right and wrong, between a united country and general anarchy and ruin. The virtue of patriotism was not bounded by party lines. It was not mere necessity which drove the Democratic party to the defense of the Nation and the national honor. The bombardment of Fort Sumter was merely the means of opening the common sentiment of national pride and patriotism, and uniting the followers of all political faiths.

Yet it is a misfortune to the American historical writer, and a shame to the American people that the record of the North is not one of stainless loyalty and patriotism. What of infamy in all time shall be attached to the rebellious South, must, to a degree, be shared by persons in the North, mainly of the party in which the defenders of slavery were found. Not a few persons of political prominence in the loyal quarter ended their public careers at the opening of

the Rebellion, and these, as well as others, made, in spite of all they ever did before or afterwards, a reputation which no pen can make clean, and which must remain as an ineffaceable blot on the leaves of time when viewed by the patriot of this or any less beneficent land. A few of these misguided men were found here and there from far off Maine to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. Some of them were editors of influential newspapers; some of them were old lawyers and old politicians; some of them were clergymen even; they were in every walk of life; and all of them did something, and many of them much, to misrepresent the purposes and designs of the Administration, and weaken and impede the efforts of a wise, just, and patriotic people to perpetuate a Government which would still be, as it had been in the past, the dwelling-place and patron of an almost boundless freedom. These men constituted the never-ending "fire in the rear" which clogged the war machinery of the Nation, "aided and abetted" the Rebellion, and abroad stigmatized American virtue and honor. But why specify the very numerous cases, or mention the names of these recreant Northerners? Why not let them be lost in the general evils and errors of the past? At all events, it need not be any part of my work here to hold them up to view, nor to weaken the story by their omission.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HURRYING ON TO THE WAR—FIRING THE NORTHERN HEART—DOUGLAS—UNION SOLDIERS IN BALTIMORE—THE FAMOUS MASSACHUSETTS SIXTH — HARPER'S FERRY—A DARK WEEK IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL—GENERAL GLOOM—GOSPORT NAVY-YARD—GENERAL BUTLER RESTORES MARYLAND.

IN the Free States east of the Alleghany Mountains, at the time the first call for troops was made, there was but one Democratic governor, and he was among the first and most ready to respond to the demands of the Government. But all the loyal, the Free States, from ocean to ocean, hastened to answer the call of the country. The drum and the fife were heard in almost every county; and in an incredibly short period two times seventy-five thousand untrained men were asking to become soldiers of the Republic. Even party leaders ignored the old distinctions, and patriotically appealed to the people to elevate the flag, and rush to the support of a common cause. On Sunday, the 14th of April, Stephen A. Douglas visited the White House, through the patriotic impulse of another, and joined hands with his old political enemy in a wish to aid in the perpetuation of the Union and the conquest of the Rebellion. When the President read to him his

proclamation, to be issued the next morning, his only objection to it was that it did not call for two hundred thousand instead of seventy-five thousand soldiers. A few days subsequently, in his speech at Chicago, Mr. Douglas said :—

“There are only two sides to this question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; only patriots or traitors.”

This dying sentiment of Mr. Douglas was echoed by hundreds of his prominent political associates, and it became the common sentiment of the country.

As early as the evening of the 16th of April, the day after the President's call, several companies of Pennsylvania troops reached Washington; and on the following day the 6th Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry—the first fully organized regiment—started, one thousand strong, for the defense of the National Capital.

In the meantime the rebels were exceedingly active. “The forbearance of the Confederate government, under the circumstances, is, perhaps, unexampled in history.” So wrote Jefferson Davis, with a coolness or simplicity, which, under reasonable expectations, would be amazing. But “forbearance” had ceased, at last, to be a virtue, even in the “Confederacy,” and on the 17th of April Mr. Davis sent out a proclamation, calling for volunteer soldiers, and offering letters of authority to all who wished to engage in privateering against the United States. The firing on Sumter had raised the martial spirit

of the South, and there was no difficulty in gathering troops. The whole white population was ready to take up arms in a war which it was generally supposed would last but a few months, and be a conquering spree to a chivalrous people.

The condition of affairs in the border Slave States was not so clearly defined as yet. To the President's call for troops came back from Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, the general reply, We can furnish no men to fight the South.

The Governor of Virginia wrote to the Secretary of War: "I have only to say that the militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view." And on the 17th that State was declared "out of the Union," and its military and other resources placed at the command of the rebel managers at Montgomery.

The Governor of Missouri answered the President's call in this foolish and unpatriotic manner:—

"It is illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, inhuman, diabolical, and can not be complied with. . . . Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on so unholy a crusade."

Kentucky's Governor, who had just been over in Ohio gathering fuel for his peculiar kind of patriotism, answered: "I say, emphatically, that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States."

The Governor of Delaware said the laws of his

State did not confer upon him the authority to comply with the President's call, but he ordered the formation of the militia companies, with the option of going to the defense of the National Capital, and the support of the laws of the country.

The other unseceded Slave States answered substantially the same way, the Governor of North Carolina stultifying himself by writing to the Secretary of War that he doubted the genuineness of the dispatch from him, so extraordinary was its character. He, too, regarded the call of the President as very wicked, and declared that he could not be involved in its execution.

The position of Maryland at this juncture was a matter of supreme importance. Over the "sacred, sovereign soil" of this State the defenders of the Capital would be compelled to march. The road to the seat of Government, and all the practicable lines of communication with the loyal section lay across this State. Her retention in the immediate control of the Government and its friends was an absolute necessity for the safety of the Capital. Nobody knew this fact better than did Jefferson Davis and his advisers. Governor Hicks, of that State, was wavering between his rebellious preferences and his loyal instincts, and the interests which gathered around them. His position was ambiguous, but he finally issued a proclamation full of uncertain pretensions, and promising the excited rebels of his State that no aid would be extended to the Administration except in defense of the Capital. Commissioners

from the South were sent to Maryland to urge her to join the "seceded" States, or, if this purpose could not be effected, to prevail upon her to do the next best thing; that is, stand between the North and the support of Washington. Every influence possible on the part of the Administration was exerted to direct the current of events in Maryland in a loyal way, and, finally, with success. The moderation and patience of Mr. Lincoln in dealing with Governor Hicks were remarkable, as was also the favor in which he was subsequently held by the Administration. But, perhaps, this favor was deserving. After a great effort he had come to the loyal side, and through his course the State was not only held in her place, but also made to fight for the Government instead of against it. This was the first important success in thwarting the purposes of the Rebellion. The progress of events was now beyond expectation, considering the former indecision and dilatoriness of the Administration, and the status of Maryland was fixed, if not fully in accord with the real sentiments of Governor Hicks, at any rate beyond his control.

Before noon on the 19th of April, the famous Massachusetts Sixth, followed by several companies of Pennsylvania troops, in a train of seventeen cars reached Baltimore, and although there had been loud threats to the effect that no Northern soldiers should pass through that city, yet little apprehension was entertained as to the fulfillment of these threats. The train carrying nearly two thousand troops stopped on the east side of the city. Some of the

cars were detached and drawn by horses to the Washington depot, one mile distant. For want of horses to draw the other cars, and by reason of obstructions placed in the way by a rebel mob now gathering in great strength, this method of transfer was abandoned, and the four remaining companies under the command of a captain began the march through the streets. These men were but partly armed. They were soon surrounded by the mob, and assailed with stones, clubs, and other missiles, and one of the soldiers was shot and instantly killed. The soldiers were now ordered to fire, and the way temporarily cleared. The mayor with a considerable police force now placed himself at the head of the troops, or was there at the time of the hottest fray. The police chief or marshal subsequently also came in with a force of his men, and formed a part of the escort. But both of these men afterward took part in the riotous secession meetings and were prominent in the week's rebel reign which came on the heels of this assault on the Massachusetts Sixth. Several were killed on both sides, and many of the soldiers who reached the railroad depot and were hurried on to Washington were unfit for service by injuries received during the perilous march.

The Pennsylvania troops, most of whom were unarmed, were unable to get through the city, and not until after a hand-to-hand fight with the rebel mob were they able to take the back track and return to Philadelphia.

From Boston to Baltimore the march of the Sixth

Regiment had been a patriotic triumph. Praises, attentions, and honors were heaped upon it. The sight of it had raised the patriotic fervor even of New York City to the highest pitch; and now this assault upon it while passing through an apparently loyal city for the defense of the National Capital, was more than could be borne by a long-suffering people. The wildest excitement now prevailed over the loyal half of the Nation. The spirit of vengeance was aroused and men gathered everywhere in hot haste for the strife. In five or six days Massachusetts had raised her five full regiments, a battalion of rifles, and a corps of light artillery. Other States were but little behind. Indeed, the race was general to be first. There was no halting now in the "uprising of a great people."

On the 18th several hundred Pennsylvania troops had reached Washington, and the excitement over all parts of the country, North and South, received additional impetus from the news of the abandonment of Harper's Ferry and the destruction of the vast amount of Government property in the arsenal at that place. The Federal commander there hearing that a strong rebel force was marching to seize the place, after destroying the greater portion of the property, fled with his handful of men into Pennsylvania.

For several days there was a sort of rebel chaos in Maryland, and it looked as if the secessionists were going to have their way for a time at least. Rebel meetings were held, the Governor was induced to convene the Legislature, rebel flags took the place

of the Stars and Stripes, committees visited Washington, and the Governor and others in control of public affairs acted very foolishly and wildly.

The Governor not only urged the Administration to pass no more troops through Baltimore, but actually recommended finally that the troubles of the country should be submitted to the settlement of Lord Lyons, the British Minister. To these demands the following moderate and considerate answers were returned :—

“ WASHINGTON, April 29, 1861.

“ Governor HICKS and Mayor BROWN :—

“ GENTLEMEN,—Your letter by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin, and Brune is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed.

“ For the future, troops must be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them through Baltimore. Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning, in the presence of these gentlemen: ‘ March them around Baltimore and not through it.’ I sincerely hope the General, on fuller reflection, will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it. By this, a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this.

“ Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace consistently with the maintenance of the Government.

“ Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.”

“ DEPARTMENT OF STATE, April 22, 1861.

“ His Excellency, THOS. H. HICKS, Governor of Maryland :—

“ SIR,—I have had the honor to receive your communication of this morning, in which you inform me that

you have felt it to be your duty to advise the President of the United States to order elsewhere the troops then off Annapolis, and also that no more may be sent through Maryland; and that you have further suggested that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country, to prevent the effusion of blood.

“The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of that communication, and to assure you that he has weighed the counsels it contains with the respect which he habitually cherishes for the chief magistrates of the several States, and especially for yourself. He regrets, as deeply as any magistrate or citizen of this country can, that demonstrations against the safety of the United States, with very extensive preparations for the effusion of blood, have made it his duty to call out the forces to which you allude.

“The force now sought to be brought through Maryland, is intended for nothing but the defense of the Capital. The President has necessarily confided the choice of the national highway which that force shall take in coming to this city to the Lieutenant-General commanding the Army of the United States, who, like his only predecessor, is not less distinguished for his humanity than for his loyalty, patriotism, and distinguished public service.

“The President instructs me to add, that the national highway thus selected by the Lieutenant-General has been chosen by him, upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland, as the one which, while a route is absolutely necessary, is farthest removed from the populous cities of the State, and with the expectation that it would therefore be the least objectionable one.

“The President can not but remember that there has been a time in the history of our country when a general of the American Union, with forces designed for the defense of its Capital, was not unwelcome anywhere in the

State of Maryland and certainly not at Annapolis, then, as now, the capital of that patriotic State, and then, also, one of the capitals of the Union.

“If eighty years could have obliterated all the other noble sentiments of that age in Maryland, the President would be hopeful, nevertheless, that there is one that would forever remain there and everywhere. That sentiment is, that no domestic contention whatever that may arise among the parties of this Republic, ought in any case to be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of a European monarchy.

“I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, your excellency’s most obedient servant,

“WILLIAM H. SEWARD.”

Some Baltimoreans calling themselves Christians, and headed by a Baptist preacher, took the matter in hand, and knowing what was right better than anybody else, petitioned the President to nip the strife in the bud by acknowledging the “Southern Confederacy,” and doing what the South desired in other respects. In order to see that their demands and views were immediately complied with, they went in person to Washington, and presented the whole matter to the President. Mr. Lincoln received them courteously, but showed them the vicious tendencies of their desires, and informed them that as Maryland lay in the road of his troops coming to the defense of the Capital, and as they could neither be marched under Maryland, nor carried through the air above it, they would be marched over it. Otherwise the Capital must be surrendered to the rebels then marching against it, and the cause of the Union abandoned.

On the night of the 19th, Baltimore went into the hands of the rebel mob, and on the morning of the 20th, there was no communication with the Northern cities. The railroad bridges had been burned and the tracks torn up during the night, and in this business it was not quite clear that the Mayor, if not also the Governor, was not in some way concerned. During Sunday night, April 21st, the Baltimore rebels took possession of the telegraph lines, and thus cut off Washington from all communication with the loyal section.

From the 20th to the 26th of April was a critical period at Washington. Maryland was in the hands of the rebels, and all reliable communication with the world was gone. Rumors of its approaching fate filled the air, and the appearances indicated the speedy fulfillment of the rebel prophecy and boast as to planting the rebel flag on the Capitol. The best preparation possible for defense had been made by General Scott who had been allowed to gather a few hundred troops from the regular army during the last days of Mr. Buchanan's term of office. Fifteen companies of District militia had been embodied, and most of them served honorably during this dark and uncertain week at the Capital. Besides these militia, the six companies of regulars, and a small force of marines, on the 18th three or four hundred unarmed men from Pennsylvania had arrived and been thoroughly equipped; and on the evening of the 19th the famous 6th Massachusetts had arrived. With this not very inconsiderable force General Scott thought

he could hold the city against an army of ten thousand. The steamers and other craft on the Potomac were taken into the employ of the Government; and finally it began to be regarded as a military necessity to organize all the able men of the city for its defense. Although this design was not fully carried out, the rumor had the good effect of ridding the Capital and the Government Departments of several hundred rebels who still held to their salaries, and did the Government all the harm in their power. A stampede of these men took place on Monday, the 22d, when the Maryland rebels had cut off communications with the North. They went over into Maryland and Virginia, and cast their lots with the cause which they believed to be on the very eve of complete success at the outset. Among them were several officers of the army and navy.

The rebels had established a camp of instruction at Harper's Ferry, where they had been able to restore vast quantities of Springfield rifles and other arms of all kinds which Lieutenant Jones had attempted to destroy before deserting the place. Here they were in constant communication with the leaders of the revolt in Maryland, to whom several thousand stand of arms had already been sent.

On Saturday, the 20th, Gosport Navy-yard was abandoned, at great sacrifice to the Nation. This was located at Norfolk, Virginia, and was one of the most valuable stations, and most thoroughly stocked, of the Government. To this point the rebel managers in Virginia had turned their thoughts long before the

forced secession of that State. And the authorities at Washington claimed the plea of inability to put the place in an adequate state of defense. When it was at last decided to remove the valuable vessels and other property of the yard, the execution was prevented by the treacherous advice and conduct of some of the officers in command. When a vessel and several companies of soldiers were sent down from Washington to carry out the orders of the Government, they found the ships scuttled and sinking. It was then deemed best to continue the work of destruction which had unnecessarily and treacherously been begun. All these misfortunes, and the isolated condition of the National Capital gave a gloomy aspect to affairs on one side while they were taken as no uncertain auguries of success on the other.

But the usual regularity was observed in the Departments, and light soon broke in from the loyal North, from whence also came loud complaints of the unaccountable loss of Gosport Navy-yard, and the ships of war now so needed by the Government, all of which it was generally believed could have been held by brave and true men, although few in numbers, until the promised aid came.

In writing of the Gosport Navy-yard desertion and partial destruction, Mr. Greeley says: "Thus ended the most shameful, cowardly, disastrous performance that stains the annals of the American Navy." How far any of the blame of this misfortune may be chargeable to the Administration does not readily appear. Great dissatisfaction was felt on

account of the want of energy and decision at Washington, and this was not diminished by a knowledge of the difficulties of the situation, or the want of harmony at the outset, not to say anything of the somewhat doubtful position Mr. Seward was inclined to take in the direction of affairs.

On the 20th of April, General Benjamin F. Butler, with the 8th Massachusetts Infantry, and Colonel Lefferts, with the 7th New York, reached the Susquehanna River. Soon afterwards Governor Sprague appeared here with his Rhode Island regiment; and these were quickly followed by others from other States. Finding the railroads useless, General Butler seized the steam ferry-boat, *Maryland*, and on that appeared at Annapolis early the following morning. The next day, Monday, 22d, the 7th New York also reached that point. Here, too, the troops for the defense of the Capital were met by a protest from Governor Hicks. But the troops were landed all the same, and Butler pursued his own way in the city, choosing, however, the most moderate way possible, even sending back to Perryville, on the Susquehanna, for provisions.

The frigate *Constitution* was found at Annapolis, and this General Butler seized and turned it to the immediate service of the Government. Not until the 24th did these regiments set out for Washington, acting with a tardiness and deliberation hardly creditable under the circumstances. But on the 25th the 7th New York reached the isolated Capital, and put an end to the question of its immediate safety. The

railroad had also been repaired, and from that time the way to the loyal States was never again closed.

Troops now daily poured into the Capital, which took the appearance of a vast military camp, and the prospect of transferring the seat of rebel operations to Washington became less certain even in the South. An apparent difficulty in the way of accomplishing this object had also arisen there. Robert E. Lee, who, with Joseph E. Johnston, had resigned his place in the regular army and gone over to the Rebellion, had been put in command of the Virginia military operations. Lee took more of the soldier's view of the case, and exhibited little sympathy with the common cry of "on to Washington." His first object was to organize and make an army. And thus the grounds of safety to Washington were strengthened from both sides. The progress of the Rebellion in Maryland had now been checked, and the attention of the Administration was immediately turned to the work of bringing that State into its proper relations with the Government, and opening fully this necessary channel of communication with the loyal part of the Union.

On the 25th the Maryland Legislature met at Frederick instead of Annapolis, the former place being out of the way of Federal soldiers, and more convenient for communication with the Virginia rebels.

General Butler had now taken possession of the heights commanding Annapolis, and his troops were encamped on the grounds of the Naval Academy. The railroad to Washington was in his control, and

his eye was directed towards the Legislature at Frederick. The immediate object of the authorities at Washington was to turn the tide of affairs in Maryland, secure that State to the side of the Government in the conflict, put Fortress Monroe in a better state of defense, repossess Harper's Ferry, and secure the line of the Potomac. This was about all that could be expected from the three months' volunteers. To operate against the so-called seceded States on the Mississippi and elsewhere, it was now seen that an army enlisted and drilled for the war was essential to success. To this end the attention of the Administration was, accordingly, at once directed.

On the 19th the President issued the following proclamation ordering the blockade of the Southern ports, and as to the treatment of pirates operating against the United States :—

“ WHEREAS, An insurrection against the Government of the United States has broken out in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and the laws of the United States for the collection of the revenue can not be efficiently executed therein conformably to that provision of the Constitution which requires duties to be uniform throughout the United States ;

“ AND WHEREAS, A combination of persons, engaged in such insurrection, have threatened to grant pretended letters of marque to authorize the bearers thereof to commit assaults on the lives, vessels, and property of good citizens of the country lawfully engaged in commerce on the high seas, and in waters of the United States ;

“AND WHEREAS, An Executive Proclamation has already been issued, requiring the persons engaged in these disorderly proceedings to desist therefrom, calling out a militia force for the purpose of repressing the same, and convening Congress in extraordinary session to deliberate and determine thereon;

“Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, with a view to the same purposes before mentioned, and to the protection of the public peace, and the lives and property of quiet and orderly citizens pursuing their lawful occupations, until Congress shall have assembled and deliberated on the said unlawful proceedings, or until the same shall have ceased, have further deemed it advisable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the States aforesaid, in pursuance of the laws of the United States, and of the laws of nations in such cases provided. For this purpose a competent force will be posted so as to prevent entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid. If, therefore, with a view to violate such blockade, a vessel shall approach, or shall attempt to leave any of the said ports, she will be duly warned by the commander of one of the blockading vessels, who will indorse on her register the fact and date of such warning; and if the same vessel shall again attempt to enter or leave the blockaded port, she will be captured and sent to the nearest convenient port, for such proceedings against her and her cargo as prize as may be deemed advisable.

“And I hereby proclaim and declare, that if any person, under the pretended authority of said States, or under any other pretense, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy.

“By the President, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

“WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

“*Washington, April 19, 1861.*”

On the same day, by general order, the military department, including Maryland and the District of Columbia, was extended to embrace Pennsylvania and Delaware, and General Robert Patterson placed in command. A week later some changes were made in the military arrangements creating the Department of Annapolis, with General B. F. Butler in command, and at Washington, the Inspector-General, J. K. F. Mansfield, commanded.

Governor Hicks, in his ambiguous message to the Legislature, recommended that Maryland stand on the side of the Union, but urged the necessity of forcing the belligerents not to make a battle-field of that State. By a very large majority the Legislature followed his advice, and declared it inexpedient "to take the State out of the Union." It organized a military board, however, composed mainly of secessionists, with authority to provide for the public safety. This board turned toward the South for instructions, and the Legislature acted throughout chiefly in the interest of the Rebellion. Of its full sympathy with them the Southern leaders had no doubt, and so they treated it as far as possible. The best act of this Legislature was its early adjournment on the 14th of May, without calling a secession convention. The President had been exceedingly watchful of its conduct, and General Scott had been authorized to arrest the whole body, or any part of it, in case of treasonable acts.

In the meantime the Union sentiment of the State began to gain ground, and take a more decided stand.

Public meetings were held, and the course of the Board of Public Safety disapproved. Prominent men, among whom were Reverdy Johnson and the patriotic and scholarly John P. Kennedy, Secretary of the Navy under Mr. Fillmore, appealed earnestly and manfully to the better judgment of the people.

From Washington went out orders to repair the railroads on both sides of Baltimore, and on the 5th of May, General Butler moved up to the Relay House, within nine miles of the city. A few days subsequently a force of one thousand three hundred men from Perryville landed near Baltimore, and proceeded, unmolested, to open the railroad to Butler's position, on the south; and, finally, on the evening of the 13th, without especial authority, General Butler marched into the city, and, during the night, intrenched himself on Federal Hill. The following morning he caused to be thoroughly circulated a proclamation, in which he stated that his appearance in Baltimore was not to interfere with lawful and patriotic pursuits, but to check the career of traitorous men, and see that the laws of the country were respected. This proclamation invited those who desired to furnish supplies for the army at fair prices, particularly specifying that no kind of aid to the so-called "Confederate States" would be tolerated, under penalty of confiscation, and appealing to the friendly and patriotic feeling of the citizens. The proclamation was favorably received. It was addressed to the cupidity of the Baltimoreans, as well as to their patriotism.

A reaction set in, and the whole State of Maryland was soon restored to more than a merely nominally loyal position in the Union. Several regiments of its citizens entered the Federal army, and its Governor was especially favored at Washington. Still the State had a large element of strong sympathizers, who never abandoned the Rebellion while anything remained to which a hope of success could be pinned, and Baltimore rebels managed to aid and abet their brethren in the South in various ways to the end of the conflict.

CHAPTER XXV.

WAR PREPARATIONS—CALL FOR MORE SOLDIERS—COLONEL ELLSWORTH AND THE FIRE ZOUAVES—THE BORDER STATES—McCLELLAN IN WEST VIRGINIA—KENTUCKY—MISSOURI—ALL THE STATES TAKE POSITIONS—TEMPORIZING ON THE BORDER.

IT is an interesting fact that not until about the 1st of May, 1861, did the United States military engineers discover that the Capitol was only three and a half miles from Arlington Heights on the opposite side of the Potomac, and the White House with most of the public offices a mile nearer, and that from the Heights they could all be destroyed. A detachment of rebel soldiers was even then quartered at Alexandria, and a rebel flag floating in the breeze down there could be seen from Washington. It was at once decided that this important point commanding the Capitol should be occupied by Federal soldiers; but many days passed before the wise project was put into effect.

On the 3d of May the President issued a proclamation, stating that the necessities of the case called for a still larger military force, asked for the various States to furnish forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers for three years, as cavalry and infantry; also for nearly twenty-three thousand men

to be added to the regular army ; and an addition of eighteen thousand to the naval force then employed. This step of Mr. Lincoln created no little discussion throughout the country, and was met by a sharp and unfriendly criticism even among many who recognized the general necessity of a vigorous attempt to maintain the national unity. And especially were the Northern newspapers which opposed coercion and the course of the Administration clamorous about this assumption of power by Mr. Lincoln. The increase of the regular army in particular was supposed to lie with Congress. It was held that if the President could increase the regular army by ten thousand men, he could also raise it to half a million, or indefinitely. The liberties of the people were involved in the question. The more democratic a people and government, and hence the more absolutely free from danger or risk their liberties, the greater becomes the inclination to question or suspect any exertion of authority out of the ordinary ways. But while there never has been a time, not even an extraordinary emergency, in the history of this Nation when the cry of danger to human liberty has not been raised on the least semblance of provocation, it has mainly been on the part of factious politicians. And it is doubtful whether the cry has ever been sincere, at all events, among intelligent men. That any American President or general should entertain a thought or scheme for taking away the common political freedom of the country, that which is a part of the very nature of the people and governmental

structure, is beyond respectable credulity. At any rate, now as in all other important instances in the history of the country, the emergency was supposed to justify the act, and in the patriotic fervor of the times this matter was lost sight of, and what in time of peace would have been deemed of moment, dwindled to insignificance before the real work of importance. In fact, the disposition was already apparent among the people, to favor any energetic and expeditious way of putting down the Rebellion, and looking up the law for the way when the work was done. This disposition was true and right. The Rebellion had provided an extraordinary emergency. It had ignored and knocked away the Constitutional obligations and machinery of government, as far as it could do so. None of them were applicable to it. Nothing but overwhelming military force could make them applicable. To talk of putting down the Rebellion by Constitutional means was contemptible drivel. It was folly, if not wickedness. The cry of unconstitutional, raised by disaffected people, disappointed politicians, and the considerable race of Northern sympathizers, against almost every step throughout the war for putting down the Rebellion or preserving the Union, was one of the strange hallucinations of the times. The Constitution was suspended as to the people engaged in the Rebellion, and it never could apply to them in any of its workings unless the loyal supporters of the Union and executors of the Government, for the time being, could overcome the Rebellion and place those engaged in it in an attitude to

accept and be reached by the peaceful provisions of the Constitution. Although the Rebellion was, in a sense, a trial of the Constitution and test of the powers of national preservation, it was not a war with the Constitution. It was a war without regard to the Constitution for the establishment of a new government whose corner-stone, wholly unlike that of the Government of the Constitution, should be human slavery. No Constitutional means, no other means, of carrying on the war on the part of the friends of the Government, of those who believed the Constitution and the Government originally designed to be perpetual, could have been satisfactory to its enemies. And yet, at no time in this long conflict, did the Administration lose sight of its Constitutional obligations even in its acts toward the enemies of the Government it was bound to perpetuate.

In his first message to Congress, in referring to the course he had been compelled to take, Mr. Lincoln said:—

“In full view of his great responsibilities, he has so far done what he has deemed his duty. . . .

“Recurring to the action of the Government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for seventy-five thousand militia, and rapidly following this, a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of a blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal. . . .

“Other calls were made for volunteers, to serve three years, unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the regular army and navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under

what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity, trusting then, as now, that Congress would ratify them."

On the 10th of May the President issued a proclamation, directing the commander of the United States forces on the coast of Florida to allow no treasonable or unsafe person to fill any office or exercise any authority on the Tortugas, Santa Rosa, and Key West islands, and authorizing him to remove all dangerous persons, and, if he found it necessary, to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in executing the purpose of the proclamation. This privilege had been granted to General Scott previously in dealing with the Baltimore rebels. The necessity of this step throughout the entire slave border and in some other cases became imperative, and when it appeared, the President did not hesitate in taking it. This, perhaps, more than any other act of Mr. Lincoln's Administration, brought out an unceasing and multi-formed wail from the Northern sympathizers and aiders and abettors of the Rebellion.

In Mr. Lincoln's message, at the opening of the called session of Congress in July, the reader will find an ingenious, plain, and frank defense of his action in this matter. But in a future chapter this bugbear of *habeas corpus* will be more fully presented, in its workings during the war, at least. On the afternoon of the 19th of May, at the same hour, in all the more important cities, the Government authorities quietly took possession of the telegraph offices in order to discover the extent of the co-operation of the

Northern sympathizers with their rebellious friends in the South. This was said to be a high-handed piece of unconstitutional meddling with the liberties of the people, and foreshadowed the usurpations which were to follow; but a mass of rich and valuable evidence which was very beneficial to the Government at this critical moment, and which it had a perfect right to have in a life-struggle with its enemies, was gained possession of by this step. Although the Northern people were, in the mass, as one man in support of the war, it was now made clear, beyond a doubt, that infatuated or evil-disposed persons were not wanting throughout all the loyal States, and that the border Slave States teemed with persons who were not only in sympathy with the Rebellion, but were willing or were seeking to be used as instruments for furthering its purposes.

At last, after a long preparation, on Thursday, May 23, 1861, a little after midnight, between ten and thirteen thousand men, from the various camps about Washington, were ordered to move across the Potomac for the purpose of occupying Alexandria, taking possession of the railroads, and fortifying the chain of hills, or ridge, commanding Washington from that side. Most of these troops crossed by way of the Long Bridge, Colonel Ellsworth's regiment (the New York Fire Zouaves) going directly to Alexandria by the river. Between four and five o'clock the commander of the war steamer, *Pawnee*, in an unauthorized and remarkable stretch of kindness, sent a flag of truce and notified the rebels at Alex-

andria that a landing would shortly be made to take possession of the place, and asking them to retire. The Zouaves soon after landed without opposition, the rebel sentinels simply discharging their guns, and taking to their heels. By Colonel Ellsworth's orders some rails of the Richmond railroad were torn up, and he himself with a few men set off to take charge of the telegraph office. In the meantime the Michigan First, designed to reach this point by the Long Bridge at the same time with the Zouaves, had entered Alexandria, and proceeding to the railroad depot, had captured a small company of rebel cavalry which seemed to have no knowledge of the extensive movement on the "sacred soil of the Old Dominion."

Colonel Ellsworth, while on his way at the break of day to the telegraph office, which he considered one of the first objects of his attention, in passing the Marshall House, discovered the rebel flag which, from its roof, had been clearly seen for weeks from the White House. With the correspondent of "The New York Tribune," and three or four of his command, Ellsworth entered the hotel, and meeting the proprietor, asked him about the rebel flag on the house, and receiving an evasive reply, proceeded to the roof and with his own hands cut down the offensive flag. In returning down towards the street the proprietor of the house again suddenly appeared in the hall with a double-barreled shot-gun, and although he was seen at the very moment by private Francis E. Brownell, who preceded Colonel Ellsworth, before a word could be spoken, he fired the contents of one

barrel into the body of the young commander, who fell dead on the spot. The other charge in the hand of the assassin was fired at Brownell, but this he dexterously avoided, and almost instantly shot the assassin in the head, and being uncertain of the fatal effect, also pierced him through with his bayonet.

Colonel Ellsworth's body was taken to Washington, and there and throughout the loyal North his sad and untimely death was deeply mourned. Ellsworth was young and handsome, and some things connected with his life had made him known, to some extent, throughout the country, and had endeared him to the people. No young officer at the beginning of the war had a brighter and more admirable prospect. And yet both his character and death were looked upon quite differently in the South, where, in the general folly and madness of the hour, no evil or wicked epithet was considered apparently too severe in speaking of him, especially in the newspapers.

Before Mr. Lincoln set out for Washington to assume the duties of President, Ellsworth went to Springfield, and asked the privilege of forming a member of his company for the journey. This Mr. Lincoln readily granted, and became greatly attached to the clean-handed and enthusiastic young man. When the war began he went to New York City with the admirable and novel plan of raising a regiment from those who had served in the fire department of that city. His success was remarkable, more than two thousand of these brave men offering to enlist under his command. From these he

chose his regiment, which was one of the first to enter the service under the President's first call. He was chosen colonel, and on the 29th of April started, amidst most flattering surroundings, with his command to the seat of war. The character of this fine-spirited, brave young officer may be seen with sufficient clearness in the following letter to his parents:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS FIRST ZOUAVES, CAMP LINCOLN, }
“WASHINGTON, May 23, 1861. }

“MY DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER,—The regiment is ordered to move across the river to-night. We have no means of knowing what reception we are to meet with. I am inclined to the opinion that our entrance to the city of Alexandria will be hotly contested, as I am just informed that a large force has arrived there to-day. Should this happen, my dear parents, it may be my lot to be injured in some manner. Whatever may happen, cherish the consolation that I was engaged in the performance of a sacred duty; and to-night, thinking over the probabilities of the morrow and the occurrences of the past, I am perfectly content to accept whatever my fortune may be, confident that He who noteth even the fall of a sparrow will have some purpose even in the fate of one like me. My darling and ever-loved parents, good-bye. God bless, protect, and care for you. ELMER.”

Several songs were composed and sung in the army and among the loyal people in memory of Colonel Ellsworth. The following is the first stanza of one of these:—

“Columbia bends in sadness now,
Above her gallant soldier's grave;
Laurel and cypress deck the brow
Of the dead Zouave—so young, so brave.

Cut down in manhood's brightest bloom—
Of his dear friends the hope and pride—
He sleeps within an honored tomb,
Who for his country bravely died."

Still it is a lamentable fact that notwithstanding the wide-spread feeling manifested on account of his death, little attention was, at least for years, bestowed upon the perpetuation of the name of this bright young officer, who fell when few men North or South were able to see the real nature of the deadly strife. His needy old parents were forgotten, and long his own grave went unmarked. But this is simply the old story. It has always gone this way in this world, and perhaps in it there should be found no cause of complaint. Certain it is that the wisest and best of men, the most just among the nations, may find apology enough for the neglect of one, when in the great conflict to which they were rushing hundreds and thousands were almost daily falling.

Time was necessary to develop the character of the contest and the spirit of those engaged in the Rebellion; and nothing had yet occurred which went so far in correcting the general view in the North on this point. The demon of slavery was aroused. It had never been driven into such a test before. And it was difficult to judge fully what was to be expected of it.

Of the fifty-five votes cast against secession in the secret session of the Virginia Convention, April 17th, most of them were from the western part of the

State, and all of them but nine, from what is now West Virginia and the mountain counties on the east. And in the farcical vote of the people on the secession ordinance, this mountain region voted strongly against it. The interests of West Virginia were by no means identical with those of the part of the old State lying east of the main chain of the Alleghany Mountains. In 1860, with a white population of over three hundred and fifty thousand, this region possessed less than twenty thousand slaves. The majority of the West Virginians were opposed to slavery, and unfriendly to the aristocratic social system founded upon it which prevailed in the rich Atlantic region. Their commercial and other interests were more in harmony with those of the Free States with which they traded in the Ohio Valley. And when it came to a question of breaking up the Government, and the establishment of a confederacy in which slavery was to be the first idea, they had no heart in the work, and deemed it a great misfortune that they should be pulled into the villainous scheme. When they were called upon to enter the Southern army to fight against the Government, their discontent was still more apparent, and but a few days elapsed before they were actively pushing for an organized opposition to the secession leaders east of the mountains, aiming to give Western Virginia, if not the whole State, a loyal attitude towards the General Government. A more minute account of the political movements resulting in the formation of the new State of West Virginia will be given in another

chapter. It is now only necessary to say that from the outset the Federal authorities at Washington gave every possible encouragement to the Union sentiment of this part of the State, and the mass of the people opposed every demand of the rebel State government and of the Montgomery managers upon them.

Captain George B. McClellan, who had been appointed a General from Ohio, soon found his command extended to loyal West Virginia, where a considerable native Union force under Colonel B. F. Kelly was already preparing for the conflict. Although the enlistments in West Virginia were not all on the side of the Government, the rebel authorities saw from the beginning that even unaided from Washington this part of the "Old Dominion" could not be held with the Rebellion unless by force, by coercion. There was no hesitancy, however, at Richmond and Montgomery in pursuing this course, no matter how much their conduct conflicted with the erroneous principle on which the Rebellion was founded. Potterfield, who had been sent over the mountains to recruit and conduct the rebel military interests, was soon whipped at Philippi and forced to retreat with a few followers; Garnett and Henry A. Wise, as Generals, were sent over, but the former was killed while retreating from Leesville; subsequently John B. Floyd was given a command in this loyal mountain region, but Wise and Floyd were too great to be confined to such limited enterprise, and Jefferson Davis says that the want of harmony between them greatly injured the rebel cause.

Robert E. Lee was also sent over here but he was not successful. At all events West Virginia, by her own loyalty and the aid of the General Government, was able to retain the position she desired in the Union. But this is anticipating and ignoring entirely some important events of the war in this part of the country, which should, perhaps, be referred to in order of time, farther on.

Ten days after the meeting of Congress General McClellan made the following slightly tinted report, which, however, subserved a very important purpose in advancing his own interests:—

“HUTTONSVILLE, VA., July 14, 1861.

“COLONEL TOWNSEND,—Garnett and forces routed; his baggage and one gun taken; his army demoralized; Garnett killed. We have annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia, and have lost thirteen killed, and not more than forty wounded. We have in all killed at least two hundred of the enemy, and their prisoners will amount to at least one thousand. Have taken seven guns in all. I still look for the capture of the remnant of Garnett’s army by General Hill. The troops defeated are the crack regiments of Eastern Virginia, aided by Georgians, Tennesseans, and Carolinians.. Our success is complete, and secession is killed in this country.

GEO. B. MCCLELLAN,

“Major-General Commanding.”

After admitting a great deal for enthusiasm, and, may be a somewhat laudable pride of success, is there not still an air of quackery about this report, which did certainly serve to raise expectations which were not fulfilled? From West Virginia to the Mississippi, nearly a thousand miles of the slave border was occu-

pied by Kentucky, only separated from three of the most powerful of the loyal Free States by the Ohio River. In the Presidential race of 1860 Kentucky had a respectable plurality for Bell and Everett, and was unmistakably for the Union. Still, Bell's majority over Breckinridge was less than thirteen thousand, and the "Constitutional Union Party" itself was a vague kind of makeshift. Mr. Lincoln's thirteen hundred votes, Douglas's twenty-five thousand, and Bell's sixty-six thousand put against Breckinridge's fifty-three thousand lacked considerable of showing a sentiment of two to one in favor of the Union. But, while it is true that a large, undecided, and uncertain element was to be found in the ninety-three thousand nominal Union votes, it is also true that the Union sentiment increased for months after this election. From the fall of Fort Sumter until the Emancipation Proclamation was a strong Union epoch in Kentucky. The mountain counties were proverbially loyal, and while there was a wide vein of drivel and nonsense in the Unionism of the rich slave-labor counties, in many of these same counties on the 1st day of May, 1861, there were very few professed secessionists. They were quiet exceptions to the general rule.

But, while Kentucky in her official machinery was held throughout on the side of the Union, during the second year of the war there was a great revolution in favor of the Rebellion, and in strong proslavery communities, where a secessionist hardly felt safe in his own house at the outset, a Union man

now was rarely found. Yet the status of the State was fixed, and to the end there remained a strong and active and vigilant, as well as numerous class of unconditionally loyal men in the mass. And there was, perhaps, no part of the State where they were not found. Under the patronage of the Government and the army these Union men controlled the affairs of the State, and in many cases with a high-handed flourish, which was only equaled in some other border States, and for which, perhaps, it would be no easy matter to attempt a full apology at this day. Under the uncertain chances of the times it was supposed to be necessary to institute a system of military surveillance, which, while on general principles, was doubtlessly well, and perfectly justifiable, stooped to some acts, such as exacting fees from the wealthier rebels when called up to take the prescribed oath of allegiance, which the candid historian, who carefully studies these minor matters of the war, will be unable to palliate.

The Governor of Kentucky exhibited clearly what might be expected of him in the future, by his refusal to furnish the quota of troops apportioned to that State under the President's first call. In December, 1860, the Governor called the Legislature to convene in extra session the next month. This was the first step in the course of the seceding States. The Governor's message talked about the old "confederacy rapidly resolving itself into its original integral parts, and its loyal members looking up wholly new relations;" and urged the calling of a State convention,

which was the next step in the usual course of secession. But the Legislature was, fortunately, not in harmony with the Governor, and while it did not act on his suggestions, it recommended a National Convention and a border State "Peace Conference."

After a short session, the Legislature adjourned; but the Governor, being unsatisfied with the turn in his affairs, in April called another extra session, to meet toward the last of the same month. He now took occasion to say, in his message, that the Union was gone, that the usurper Lincoln was mad with sectional hate, and that the time had certainly come for declaring the State independent through a convention, which ought to be authorized. Still the Legislature did not heed him, and, after declaring in favor of adhesion to the Government, adjourned on the 24th of May. In the meantime an election for delegates to the proposed "Peace Convention" at Frankfort was held, resulting in a large Union majority. On the 27th of May a few impracticable political peace "grannies," from three or four States, met at the State capital, but nothing was gained by this convention more than the display of kind hearts and good enough dispositions on the part of its members, all misguided and tender-footed "conservatives."

On the 20th of May the Governor issued his neutrality proclamation, in which occurs the following remarkable language, hardly to be accounted for on any sane or intelligent grounds:—

"Now, therefore, I hereby notify and warn all other States, separated or united, especially the United and Con-

federate States, that I solemnly forbid any movement upon Kentucky soil, or occupation of any post or place therein, for any purpose whatever, until authorized by invitation or permission of the legislative and executive authorities."

For a time this shame-faced neutrality business was favorably regarded by many loyal people, but neither President Lincoln nor Jefferson Davis paid much attention to it, and after awhile everybody else took the same view of it. In June an election of members of Congress occurred, in which all Unionists were elected but one, and from this on the Legislature and the Military Board conducted matters in the interests of the Union. Measures vetoed by the Governor were passed over the veto, and he quietly promulgated them in obedience to the will of the Legislature; and his military appointments were in harmony with the wishes of this body. The "Home Guards" of the State were supplied with arms by the authorities at Washington, and the recruiting of Kentucky regiments began at Cincinnati, and other places on the Ohio River, in the Free States.

In July the rebels opened Camp Boone as a Kentucky recruiting station, on the Tennessee border. This was followed by the establishment of other camps on the Tennessee line, to which Kentucky rebels flocked from all parts of the State. Many of them also took the route through the mountains to South-western Virginia. In August William Nelson, a lieutenant in the navy, and a native of Kentucky, established "Camp Dick Robinson," in

Garrard County, which became the famous rendezvous of the loyal soldiers of the State.

In the meantime, the Governor having become a mere figure-head, and the demand for his resignation becoming so pressing, he determined to submit to the public will, as he had been forced to do on other points. The Lieutenant-Governor having died, the Speaker of the Senate would be, by virtue of his office, the acting Governor of the State. An arrangement was finally made, by which the Governor was allowed to name his successor from among the Union Senators. John F. Fisk, the Speaker of the Senate, not being the choice, Mr. Fisk resigned, and James F. Robinson was immediately chosen in his place. The Governor then presented his resignation on the 18th of August, 1862, and Speaker Robinson was installed as his successor. Mr. Fisk was again, of course, reinstated as Speaker of the Senate. Governor Magoffin withdrew to his farm, near Harrodsburg, where he remained comparatively inactive during the remainder of the war. When the conflict at arms was over, he became one of the first among the "reconstructed," and openly urged the necessity of the men, with whom he had mainly sympathized, submitting to the inevitable, and earnestly taking their former relation towards the Government.

In all this time the Kentucky rebels had not been idle, and with them was enacted the most remarkable part of all this medley of follies. On the 10th of September, 1861, a secession or State-Rights Convention met at Frankfort, with seventy counties repre-

sented, and Richard Hawes, a lawyer of Paris, was chosen chairman. This convention pretended to favor the Governor's neutrality scheme, but its members were in full sympathy with the Rebellion, and worked incessantly to push the State into secession. A convention for this purpose was finally convened at Russellville, in the southern part of the State, on the 18th of November. Sixty-five counties were said to be represented; "independence" was declared, a "secession ordinance" passed, a governor and council of ten chosen, Bowling Green made the capital, and "commissioners" appointed to the "Confederate government." With little difficulty, by the representations of these men, Kentucky was admitted as a member of the "Confederacy" on the 10th of December, 1862. This disgusting and foolish business was continued in some shape till the "Confederacy" itself went down.

In the fall of this year, when General Bragg had swept up over Kentucky, driving the Union forces before him, he took little note of this bogus government which had been put in operation down at Russellville, and on the 4th of October caused Richard Hawes, of Paris, to be inaugurated as Governor of the State at Frankfort. Hawes delivered a pompous inaugural, and in it said there was no farce about it, and that their true and chivalrous friends had come to stay. But this speech had barely been uttered until the rebels began a hasty retreat, and on the same day "Governor" Hawes also left the Capital, not to show his face there again during the war.

The condition of affairs in Missouri was still more unfortunate at the outbreak of the war. The Union men were themselves divided into two factions. The radicals favored meeting secession with military force and without temporizing, while the conservatives asked for a policy of moral suasion and conciliation. And the difficulty was augmented by a similar division in the President's Cabinet. Mr. Montgomery Blair firmly took the side of the radicals, and Attorney-General Bates stood with the conservatives. General William S. Harney, who was in command of the Department of the West, as then organized, really stood at the head of the conservative party, a brave and patriotic soldier, but wholly unfit to conduct civil and political affairs, especially at such a time. In the military ranks on the radical side were Nathaniel Lyon, then only a captain in the Second Regular Infantry, and Frank P. Blair, then colonel of a regiment of Home Guards in St. Louis.

The Governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, was a secessionist, and although he and his party were compelled to operate with great caution, every step they took, either openly or secretly, was designed to further the object they had in view, gradually placing the State on the side of the Rebellion. The usual course in "taking a State out of the Union" was pursued by the Governor and his associates; but the convention scheme was not a success in this case, that body convened in February, 1861, refusing to follow the other Southern States, or carry out the will of the

rebel State executive. The Governor then fell back upon the Legislature, hoping to meet better success with a more pliant set of men, and here he was not mistaken. This body proceeded at once to a system of legislation in harmony with the Governor's plans. Early in April he sent to Montgomery for aid, and as far as it was expedient, Mr. Davis complied with his wish.

The United States arsenal at St. Louis was early an object of anxiety to the Governor; and with a view to its capture, and the further advancement of his plans, he began to collect the militia in camp at St. Louis, with D. M. Frost, a graduate of West Point, in command. At this critical period fortunately General Harney was absent; and Lyon and Blair kept themselves well informed of all movements on the part of the secessionists.

General Harney appeared to be wholly unable to comprehend rebel tactics or to sympathize with those who did. And while the Union men of St. Louis deemed him a loyal man, they soon learned to have no confidence in his energy or his policy. He considered the rebel leaders honest, and preferred to rely upon their promises than the representations of loyal men as to their purposes, men who were much better able to know and judge of rebel designs than he was himself.

St. Louis had a number of wise, energetic, and fearless Union men who felt that General Harney was allowing the wily secessionists to become masters of the State, and through their representations mainly

the Administration was induced to call him to Washington. This step was designed to be merely introductory to removing him entirely from the command of the Department of the West. His policy in Missouri had been entirely satisfactory to Mr. Buchanan, and the influence now brought to bear in his favor, in spite of the Union men of St. Louis, caused him to be returned to his command there.

In January, 1861, only a few soldiers were at Jefferson Barracks, and a handful of mechanics and others at the arsenal, which contained complete equipments for a large army besides large quantities of powder, other army supplies, machinery, and other Government property.

On the 24th of January, Frost, Governor Jackson's General, wrote from St. Louis that he had just been with Major Bell, who then commanded the arsenal; that Bell was of the mind they desired; that he considered the arsenal the property of the State; that he would only make a defense against any mob which might assail the place, and would make no resistance to the State authority; that he would not allow arms to be taken from the arsenal to the Free States without consulting the State authorities, and that as the Major was clearly enough, or far enough on their (the rebel) side, they would keep their eyes on the arsenal until it suited them to appropriate it to the use of the Rebellion, as had been done in other Slave States.

About this time, through the representations of the Unionists, General Scott sent an order for Bell's

transfer to a point where he could have less opportunity to injure the cause of his country, but preferring to stay in St. Louis, Bell resigned. His successor, Major Hagner, was, perhaps, little less a man after the heart of the secession plotters, and in him they were compensated to a great extent for the loss of Bell.

At this juncture Captain T. W. Sweeney, of the 2d Regular Infantry, arrived at Jefferson Barracks, and was soon stationed at the arsenal. He was a patriot, and the rebels were not long in discovering that his watchful eye was on all their movements.

Early in February Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with a full company of the 2d Infantry, arrived from Fort Riley, and took up his quarters at the arsenal. Lyon was born in 1819, in Connecticut, graduated at West Point, and had spent his life in the army, serving honorably in Florida, in Mexico, and on the frontiers, and was as brave and true a soldier as ever drew a sword in a righteous cause. At the time of his appearance at St. Louis, a rebel flag was to be seen floating over the head-quarters of the Governor's friends, but a sight of this was not necessary to teach him the character of the people who were daily hoodwinking old General Harney. Dissatisfied with the course of Harney, Lyon immediately put himself into friendly relations with the loyal "Safety Committee" of the city, and, in fact, soon became its main reliance. By great perseverance, and against the will of Major Hagner, and even

the inclination of General Harney himself, he got permission, through the urgency of his friends at Washington, to put the arsenal in a fair state of defense. His suspicion also fell upon McKinstry, the quartermaster, and he was not long in deciding that on the first appearance of opposition from any of these superiors, even Harney, too, when the interests of the country were undoubtedly at stake, he would proceed on his own responsibility. It was only through fear of his own arrest and thereby the utter ruin of the Union cause in St. Louis, if not in the State, that he restrained himself from a course which he clearly saw events justified.

Although a large number of fine men, all of them in harmony with the spirit and purposes of Lyon, gathered around him in St. Louis, and did for him at Washington what he was not able to do himself, at the head of all these civilians in the Union cause in Missouri was Francis Preston Blair, Jr., brother of the Postmaster-General. What Lyon was to the little force of soldiers gathering at the arsenal, Blair was to the loyal cause in the State. No other man in the State occupied such favorable relations with the Administration, or at least, with the President. Blair and the Safety Committee placed the same value upon the arsenal as did Lyon, and were ready night and day to rush to its defense. Although the Governor had foolishly and pompously told the Secretary of War that Missouri would not furnish a man for fighting the South, Blair and others had raised four regiments in St. Louis alone, and as many more were

appealing to be organized for the contest. St. Louis, fortunately, had a large German element, and with great unanimity the Germans rushed into the defense of the flag of their new Father-land. But nobody had the authority to muster in any of these regiments. Lyon and the Safety Committee were in daily expectation of an attack upon the arsenal by the Governor's State troops gathering at Camp Jackson, and by the "minute men," the rebel organization of the city. At this gloomy period Blair wrote the following letter to his brother:—

"ST. LOUIS, April 19, 1861.

"DEAR JUDGE,—Dr. Hazlett will hand you this letter. He goes to Washington for the purpose of urging the removal of General Harney from this post, and giving us some one to command who will not obstruct the orders of Government intended for our assistance. Harney has issued orders, at the instance of the secessionists, refusing to allow us to have the guns which the Government had ordered to be given to us. We also want an order to Captain Lyon to swear in the four regiments assigned to Missouri. I have already written and telegraphed to this effect; but in these days we do not know what to rely upon, and therefore we have deemed it advisable to send a special messenger. If you will send General Wool, or some one who is not to be doubted, to take command in this district, and designate an officer to swear in our volunteers, and arm the rest of our people, who are willing to act as a civic or home guard, I think we shall be able to hold our ground here. But the man sent to supersede Harney should reach here before Harney is apprised of his removal; and the order to swear in our volunteers should come as soon as possible, and should be sent to Lyon by telegraph, if not already sent, and should be

repeated, even if the order has been sent already. I consider these matters of vital importance, otherwise would not urge them upon your attention. I ask you to see Cameron immediately in regard to the business.

“Yours, FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

“HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR.”

Four days after this letter was written, General Harney left for Washington by order of Mr. Cameron. Lyon and Blair now had things their own way, and well and wisely they improved the time. The four volunteer regiments of three months' men were mustered in and Lyon chosen Brigade-General. Blair, who was the choice of the men, urging that Lyon was better qualified for the position, and maintaining that as a colonel merely and a civilian he could be of the greatest possible service. Arrangements were also made for organizing and arming five regiments of “Home Guards” to be styled the Reserve Corps. Of these Captain T. W. Sweeney was chosen Brigade-Commander, and of the 4th Regiment the subsequently famous B. Gratz Brown was Colonel.

On the third day of May the militia began to assemble at “Lindell Grove,” or “Camp Jackson.” Most of these were in sympathy with the Rebellion. D. M. Frost was the commander; and only five days afterwards the aid promised the Governor by Jefferson Davis began to arrive. Arms, cannon, and ammunition were landed from a steamer at the St. Louis levee, and were allowed to be conveyed out to the rebel camp. Much of this war material was in boxes marked “marble,” and all of it had been stolen from

the Government at Baton Rouge, or other points in the South. On the second day of May the Legislature met in extra session, and proceeded with caution to carry out the Governor's rebellious schemes.

In the meantime Lyon and the Safety Committee had not been inactive. The character of Frost's doings at Camp Jackson was well known, and Lyon at least was not deceived as to his designs. But while he was not now restrained by Harney, he felt obliged to conceal his purposes from Hagner and McKinstry. After the departure of Harney, he had been directed by the President to accept the services of the St. Louis Home Guards, not, however, to the number of more than ten thousand men, including the four regiments of volunteers sworn in under the call for seventy-five thousand. This additional force was to be under his command, and be subject to the Rules and Articles of War. He was also directed to discharge this force so soon as it should become apparent that there was no risk in so doing to the Government property or to the people of St. Louis. He was also authorized in this order to declare martial law, but in taking any of these steps he was to consult the following persons: Oliver D. Filley, John How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. J. Witzig, and Francis P. Blair, Jr. Lyon had been in constant communication with these patriotic men, and especially Blair and himself worked in perfect harmony, but he felt it to be an unnecessary restraint upon his actions to be obliged to have them controlled by men of no military pretensions.

Lyon knew that the gathering of Frost's militia at Camp Jackson meant the capture of the arsenal and political control of the city, and the only way to prevent this result was to break up the camp. He called together the Safety Committee and presented his views in full. But, as he expected, there was a lack of unanimity, some of his advisers believing the law was at yet on the side of Jackson's Camp. Lyon believed the cause of the country required immediate action in the case, and wished to take the camp without reference to the law. It was under the forms of State law enacted by men bent upon the destruction of the Government that the rebels hoped to get control of the State. His obligations extended beyond the mere defense of the arsenal, and if they delayed the decisive step, in a few days General Harney was to be sent back in spite of all their efforts for his removal, and so all would eventually be lost. Most, or perhaps all, of the members of the committee on the bare mention of Harney's return substantially gave way before his arguments, and Lyon at once began his preparations to march upon "Camp Jackson." On the 9th of May, dressed in woman's attire, he visited the camp, and confirmed himself beyond a doubt in the urgent necessity of immediate action. From McKinstry, the Chief Quartermaster of the Department, Lyon kept all knowledge of his designs, taking the responsibility himself through the Safety Committee of buying the few horses needed for the expedition.

Accordingly, on Friday, the 10th, with about

five thousand men, commanded by Sweeney, Blair, B. Gratz Brown, Sigel, and others, he sallied forth, and followed by a vast crowd of foolish spectators, soon surrounded the camp, upon which he sent the following wise and business-like communication to the commander:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS UNITED STATES TROOPS, }
“ST. LOUIS, MO., May 10, 1861. }

“General D. M. FROST, Commanding Camp Jackson:—

“SIR,—Your command is regarded as evidently hostile to the Government of the United States.

“It is, for the most part, made up of those secessionists who have openly avowed their hostility to the General Government, and have been plotting at the seizure of the property and the overthrow of its authority. You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern Confederacy, which is now at war with the United States; and you are receiving at your camp, from said Confederacy and under its flag, large supplies of the material of war, most of which is known to be the property of the United States. These extraordinary preparations plainly indicate none other than the well-known purpose of the Governor of the State, under whose orders you are acting, and whose purpose, recently communicated to the Legislature, has just been responded to in the most unparalleled legislation, having in direct view hostilities to the General Government and co-operation with its enemies.

“In view of these considerations, and of your failure to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of the President, and of the eminent necessities of State policy and welfare, and the obligations imposed upon me by instructions from Washington, it is my duty to demand, and I do hereby demand of you, an immediate surrender of your command, with no other conditions than that all persons surrendering under this demand shall be humanely and

kindly treated. Believing myself prepared to enforce this demand, one-half hour's time before doing so will be allowed for your compliance therewith.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“N. LYON,

“Captain 2d United States Infantry, Commanding Troops.”

Seeing the hopelessness of resistance, Frost surrendered at once, with his command of about twelve hundred men and a considerable quantity of cannon, small arms, and other war material. While the Federal troops were taking possession of the rebel camp the crowd of curious followers, composed of men and women, and being mainly rebel sympathizers, pressed closely on the Federal lines, jeering and railing at the soldiers, and, finally, throwing stones and firing among them with pistols. The abusive language and even the stones brought no reply from the soldiers, and not until one of their number had been shot down and several of them wounded, did they return the fire. About thirty of the crowd, among whom were two women, were immediately killed, and several wounded. Most of the troops then returned to the arsenal with their prisoners, who were soon paroled.

That night and the next day St. Louis was in a constant state of violence and riot, during which German citizens and soldiers were murdered while walking on the streets, and on Saturday evening one of the German regiments was again driven to fire upon the mob which pursued it, this time also killing and wounding several. These things had barely

taken place when General Harney again appeared and resumed command at St. Louis, much to the disgust of the Union men and the delight of the rebels.

On the same day, May 12th, he issued a proclamation, in which he said :—

“I have just returned to this post, and have assumed the military command of this Department. No one can more deeply regret the deplorable state of things existing here than myself. The past can not be recalled. I can only deal with the present and the future. . . . The military force stationed in this Department by the authority of the Government, and now under my command, will only be used in the last resort to preserve the peace.”

The rebel leaders desired nothing better than this. The general tone of this proclamation left no chance for doubt about the light in which General Harney held the breaking up of Camp Jackson. Keeping the peace seemed to be the extent of his ambition. He was unable to comprehend the designs of the rebel leaders or the character of the war already begun in earnest. He still had capacity as a soldier, but it was of little service to his country.

On the 14th, General Harney issued an address to the people of the State, to some extent defending the breaking up of Camp Jackson, and urging them to disregard the Military Bill and other disloyal provisions of the Legislature. He declared the Military Bill to be an indirect ordinance of secession, even ignoring the farcical forms resorted to in other rebellious communities. He also stated that Missouri must

inevitably share the destiny of the Union, whatever might be the fate of the so-called Southern Confederacy. But, notwithstanding this somewhat spirited appeal to the people, General Harney did not make any improvement in his way of maintaining the authority and safety of the Government.

The rebels, assisted by some peace-loving and politic Union men, now determined to have Lyon, who still held his position at the head of the different Missouri regiments, which he had mustered into the service, removed to some other field. For this purpose agents were sent to Washington, men who were well-known to the Attorney-General, Bates, and in whom it was believed he would place full confidence.

Franklin A. Dick, a brother-in-law of Blair, who went to Washington to counteract the influence of these men, wrote:—

“WASHINGTON CITY, May 16, 1861.

“DEAR BEN,—I made all haste to get here, and arrived at ten this morning, turning off at Harrisburg, leaving my family to go on to Philadelphia alone. . . .

“I went at once to see Judge Blair, and told him of our affairs. He took his hat and went straight with me to see General Cameron. He was at the President's. We went there and found Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Bates, Mr. Smith (Secretary of the Interior), and General Cameron. I was introduced, and told my story straight on. . . . I would at once have got all I wanted, but for Judge Bates. He had seen Yeatman and Hamilton Gamble; they had told him their story, and Bates asked Mr. Lincoln not to decide upon action until he had heard those gentlemen. While I was talking, Judge Blair wrote out a memorandum for

an order removing Harney and appointing Lyon Brigadier-General, and presented it to the President for his signature. He would have signed it but for said request of Bates. I went over to Bates and privately remonstrated with him, but could not change his purpose. Lincoln wrote a note over to General Scott, asking his opinion upon the propositions contained in Judge Blair's memorandum, and sent it by his private secretary, asking an immediate answer. Judge Blair and I then went to Cameron's office. I found him impressed with the idea that Lyon is a rash man, and not at all impressed with his real worth and ability. I found such impression also on Judge Bates's mind; but I removed it from Cameron's mind, and gave him a correct idea of Captain Lyon's ability and worth.

"General Cameron agreed that he should have leave of absence granted him, and be commissioned as a Brigadier-General of the four regiments which had elected him. We then left Cameron's office, and Judge Blair hurried off to see General Scott about the matter mentioned in the President's note. Thus the matter stands at the time of my writing this letter. But for Bates and General Scott I would have had things fixed exactly right; if they do not come out as we want them, you will, from what I have said, understand them.

"But I believe that Harney will be ordered away again. I am sorry, sorry enough, that when he was here Frank did not write about him. Frank does not write often enough. My impressions are that the Cabinet is made up of too old men. It seems to lack vigor, promptitude, and resolution. . . .

"Captain Lyon's achievement in taking the camp of the traitors has given great satisfaction in the East, and mainly for that reason, so far as I can judge, is approved by the President. Perhaps I do him injustice. Judge Blair has turned in, in earnest, to get the measures I came on for carried out, and I shall stick to the work until I

accomplish a result, and I am in strong hopes now of achieving the precise results I came for.

“Yours, sincerely,

F. A. DICK.

“TO BEN FARRAR, St. Louis.”

Mr. Dick was finally successful in giving the right turn to Missouri affairs at Washington, in having Lyon advanced to the rank of brigadier-general, and an order for giving Harney a last “leave of absence.”

On the 17th of May the Postmaster-General wrote to Ben Farrar, or Frank Blair, Jr., that, with much difficulty, these things had been accomplished so far as to give him discretionary power to deliver to or withhold from General Harney the order for his removal, as he might deem the interests of the country demanded. On the 18th, Mr. Lincoln himself wrote to Blair about this matter, as follows:—

“WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1861.

“HON. F. P. BLAIR:—

“DEAR SIR,—We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving General Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made, though I thought it best, on the whole, to make it; but since then I have become more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write now to countermand it, but to say I wish you would withhold it, unless, in your judgment, the necessity to the contrary is very urgent. There are several reasons for this. We better have him a friend than an enemy. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him, then restore him; and now, if we relieve him again, the public will ask, ‘Why all this vacillation?’

“Still, if in your judgment it is indispensable, let it be so. Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.”

On the 21st, General Harney entered into an agreement with Sterling Price, who had superseded Frost as the commander of Jackson's State troops, binding himself to a kind of inactive, peace-keeping policy which the Union men believed would end eventually all hope of the Union cause in the State, and on the very next day the whole St. Louis Safety Committee united in a letter to Montgomery Blair for a speedy remedy for the increasing difficulties. Notwithstanding Price's assertions to the contrary, and his repeated promises to Harney, the rebel organization under the Military Bill went rapidly on, while the Union men were put down, or driven out of the country.

On the 30th of May, Blair, deeming the case “indispensable” as Mr. Lincoln had stipulated, delivered to Harney the order for his removal, signed on the 16th, and wrote his reasons for doing so fully to the President. On the 6th of June, Lyon made his first report to the Secretary of War, as a Brigadier-General and Commander of the Department.

Jackson and Price now sought an interview with Lyon, hoping to be able to continue some such arrangement with him as they had had with Harney until they should be ready to do openly what they were then doing under false representations. But they were disappointed in the man, and immediately afterwards they began their work of destruction, and on the 12th the Governor issued his proclamation,

calling for fifty thousand militia to drive from the State the "minions of the military despotism at Washington." Lyon expected this as the next step and, as far as had been in his power, was ready to meet it. On the very next day after Jackson issued his war proclamation, Lyon started a part of his little force toward the State Capital, determined to give no time for the rebels to organize. Jackson fled from Jefferson City, but having collected a considerable force made a stand at Booneville, where Lyon overtook him on the 17th, and after a spirited little engagement, utterly routed his poorly equipped troops. The Governor was now in open rebellion, and the State government broken up.

On the 22d of July the Convention met at the Capital without most of its disloyal members. It at once declared the State offices vacant, abrogated the Military Bill, and on the last day of the month organized a provisional government, with Hamilton R. Gamble, a conservative Unionist, as Governor. The people sanctioned the acts of the Convention, and notwithstanding Missouri became a battle-field, under this legally organized and loyal government her affairs were conducted throughout the Rebellion.

No page in the history of the war is so little to the credit of the Administration as that relating to its management of matters in the border Slave States, especially Kentucky and Missouri, at the outbreak. Mr. Dick thought he discovered, on his visit to Washington, where the difficulty lay. It was in the simple fact that the President's Cabinet was composed

of men too old and otherwise unfit for the emergency. As the demand for action became imperative among a restless people, this opinion, for a time, acquired no little force. But, perhaps, in the end it was not sustainable. Although Mr. Cameron did the best he could, probably, there is but one verdict as to the utter impropriety of his selection, at all events as Secretary of War. And the situation was rendered still more deplorable by the wavering and old age of the General of the army. Mr. Lincoln was not a soldier, and above all things desired peace. And Mr. Seward, who was thought by most of the Republicans to be the man above all others to handle treason, became extreme in his conservatism and mischievous in his useless efforts at conciliation. But palliatory circumstances are found at every point, and it is barely just to admit their full force at all times. It was, perhaps, not indispensably necessary to hold the border Slave States on the side of the Union during the war, but it was wise to do so, and it may be maintained that the conciliatory and temporizing policy of the Administration was greatly conducive to that end at the outset.

All of this, however, may be doubted. The opinion was quite prevalent at the opening of the struggle at arms that if James Buchanan had strengthened the forts throughout the Southern States and manned them with loyal men, with patriots, and vigorously exerted every power of the Government then at his command on the least exhibition of rebellion, the forts would have remained in the possession of

the Government, the vast military stores which fitted the South for the war would have been saved, and the hope of successful revolt stifled at every step. At least with a reasonable degree of energy and backbone at the evident dawn of the purpose of secession, the territorial extent and duration of the Rebellion might have been greatly abbreviated. Even after the beginning of the new Administration it does not appear that it was too late, on the borders especially, for unexpected benefits to have been drawn from such a policy. Had Nathaniel Lyon instead of General Harney been in command in Missouri, even as late as the 4th of March, 1861, it can not be proven that the fate of that State would not have been materially benefited. Had Lyon been at Charleston from the outset instead of Robert Anderson, none of the forts or Government property in Charleston Harbor ever could have gone into the hands of the rebels; had Lyon been in command in Texas instead of General Twiggs the Government would have suffered no loss or disgrace there; so, had men and soldiers of such absolute and unalterable patriotism, sleepless watchfulness, manly vigor, untiring energy, zeal, wisdom, and activity in well-doing as Lyon, been pushed into the public places and into leadership in the army and navy at the outset, the chances of the Rebellion would have been confined to the smallest possible, if not insignificant, bounds. Still it is not necessary to mourn over these misfortunes. History has not so much to deal with things as they should have been, as with things as they were.

The end of General Harney's incompetent administration in Missouri was not the end of mismanagement there. Although General Lyon was nominally in charge of the Department, it was not in harmony with the spirit of things to keep him there. For such men as Bell and Hagner of the arsenal and Quartermaster McKinstry, Lyon was too patriotic, too watchful and concerned about little things; and he was entirely too active and warlike for General Harney. Even Secretary Cameron was disposed to think him rash and unreliable, and Mr. Bates knew it. And it never seemed to suit Mr. Lincoln's idea of things to commit an important command like that to Lyon, only a captain in the regular army. Lyon was unknown, and the test of his abilities at St. Louis, under very adverse circumstances, strangely enough, did not inspire confidence at Washington as it did in Missouri. So John C. Fremont was made a major-general, and after a ceremonious and inexcusable delay reached St. Louis, and assumed command of the Department of the West on the 25th of July. In the interim nobody had cared for Lyon, who in consequence, although he had taken the right course, was unable to prevent Jackson gathering a large army in the south-western part of the State, and finally overrunning a great part of the country south of the Missouri River with guerrillas and other products of the Rebellion.

It is a shameful fact, perhaps, that at the beginning of the war political importance was considered of great moment in a military leader. Lyon had

none of this, while General Fremont was big with it if he was not with any other qualifications. But America was without distinguished and tried soldiers, fit for such an emergency, and nobody was quite able to tell who were best. For the first year or two the Administration itself was on trial, and military leaderships were experiments.

With all Mr. Lincoln's patience and forbearance he exhibited considerable irritation in dealing with the Union men, especially the radical, unconditional class which supported the spirit and policy of Lyon. The border Slave State question was a very difficult one for him, and in the case of Missouri especially, the difficulty was increased by the multitude of counselors. In the Cabinet there were two Missouri leaders who favored contrary policies, and each considered himself quite absolute in the case. And for a time, at least, and may be always, at times, it looked as if Mr. Lincoln, who had habitually placed his own opinion above that of every other man, where he claimed to exercise one at all, was merely the figure-head of the Administration. It is plain that the order for the removal of Harney had been wrested from Lincoln contrary to his judgment, or amidst lingering doubts of its propriety. But his letter to Blair on this point shows his great anxiety in the matter, and his sense of the moral obligation resting upon himself for the final issue there, and for every step of his Administration. Montgomery Blair's letter to General Harney written about the same time is a remarkable performance, and well

exhibits the stress placed by Cabinet ministers upon their own importance. Mr. Blair coolly says to General Harney that he did not design to have him returned to the command at St. Louis, and that he had inadvertently suffered the matter to be arranged in the War office ; and that he knew the people did not want him. Neither this letter to General Harney nor Mr. Lincoln's to Frank P. Blair, Jr., exhibits the author in a commendable light. But Mr. Lincoln was feeling his way and wished to be sure he was in the right ; and amidst the extraordinary sources of confusion the members of the Cabinet were largely excusable for assumptions which, although existing to some extent in all peaceful times, were less apparent and less liable to mischievous results. Every man the country over had his own or his neighbor's remedy for the evils upon us ; and there was a remarkable itching to lay these remedies before the "authorities that be." It was but reasonable that members of the Cabinet rather than the President should be consulted by their friends. If the members of the Cabinet had not power, they became the best advocates before him who had ; hence the Missouri unconditionals appealed largely to Montgomery Blair, and the conservatives and croakers to Mr. Bates ; and so, too, appeals from every source throughout the country, whether right or wrong, were to a great extent, at the outset especially, made to him from whom there was most ground to expect immediate and favorable results.

Early in March, 1861, the people of Tennessee

declared by a vote of nearly four to one against disunion. Still this did not deter the secessionists, and the work went on. Commissioners were sent to negotiate with the rebel managers at Montgomery, and on the 7th of May the Legislature accepted the arrangement made for placing the resources of the State at the command of the "Confederate President," and on the same day in secret session passed an ordinance of secession. This with the rebel constitution was submitted to a vote of the people on the 8th of June. In the meantime every effort was put forth, especially outside of East Tennessee which was strongly Union, to leave the voting mainly in the hands of the rebels. This effort was quite successful, the Union men feeling unsafe at the polls out of East Tennessee where the majority was large against the measure. This part of the State then made an appeal to the Legislature to be set off by itself, or to be allowed to remain in the Union, but this was not the kind of sovereignty in which the secessionists believed, and on the 24th of June the Governor declared the State "out of the Union," and in the "Confederacy."

On the 6th of May, Arkansas, passed an ordinance of secession and on the 20th of the same month North Carolina took the same step. These States fell a much easier prey to secession than Tennessee. Still in March, after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, the convention of Arkansas refused by a majority of four votes to take the State "out of the Union," and appointed delegates to the Border State Convention to

be held in Kentucky late in May. After the war had been begun by the South at Fort Sumter, the matter became easy enough, and the State Convention re-convened, hastened to pass the "ordinance of secession," "right or wrong," long before time for the meeting of the unstatesman-like "Peace Convention" at Frankfort.

The people of North Carolina on the 30th of January, 1861, voted by a small majority, against calling the usual secession convention. But the Governor had seized the property of the Government, and finally called an extra session of the Legislature to meet on the first day of May, and pushed it into providing for the election of a convention which passed the "secession ordinance" on the day of assembling. So it was that before the convening of Congress in July, all the States had taken the position which they held substantially until the end of the war.

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